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BY GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE

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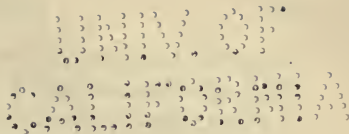
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## CHAUCER'S LOLLIUS

BY GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE

CHAUCER'S LOLLIUS has long been regarded by us critics and scholars as a mystery; and, to confess the truth, the thing has become a mystery indeed under our treatment. For in our discussions we have made so many mistakes about plain matters of record, and have emitted so many discordant conjectures, that the whole subject has become entangled to the verge of distraction and is now involved in a kind of druidical mist. Let us try to extricate ourselves from the fogbound labyrinth, and to that end let us examine certain obvious phenomena — for such there are — in an orderly and logical manner, in the light of reason and common sense and of what we know of the habits of literary men.<sup>1</sup>

Chaucer's earliest mention of Lollius occurs in *The House of Fame* (1468). The passage is very familiar; but its bearings are often overlooked, and anyhow we must scrutinize it with care at the outset, for it is quite fundamental.

The poet is enumerating the statues erected on pillars in Fame's hall. First comes Josephus, who, with the help of seven others (unnamed) supports the burden of Hebrew history. Next stands Statius, expressly designated as the author of the *Thebaid* and the *Achilleis*. Then there is a group of six worthies who "bear up" the fame of Troy: these are Homer, Dares and Dictys,<sup>2</sup> Lollius, Guido delle Colonne, and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Then we have Virgil, who bears up the fame

<sup>1</sup> The purpose is to sift and review, not to invent new theories, for almost every conceivable theory has already been propounded. A reference to Miss Hammond's invaluable bibliography (*Chaucer*, 1908, pp. 94 ff.) will relieve me of the duty of ticketing the various suggestions, good and bad, with the names of their originators or adherents. For a recent discussion see Imelmann, *Englische Studien*, XLV, 406 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Tytus* is probably a scribe's error for *Dytus* (i.e. Dictys). Robert Braham, who signs "The pistle to the reader" in Thomas Marshe's edition of Lydgate's *Troy Book* (1555), speaks of "Daretus the Phrigyan, and Dytus the Grecyan" and of "the labores aswel of Daret as Dyte."

of pious Aeneas; Ovid, who bears up the fame of the god of love; Lucan, who bears up the fame of Caesar and Pompey, and near him all those clerks who celebrate Rome — too many to call by name; then Claudian, who bears up the fame of hell, having written the *De Raptu Proserpinae*. Here Chaucer stops — for

The halle was al ful, ywis,  
Of hem that writen olde gestes,  
As ben on trees rokes nestes,

and it would have been “a ful confus matere” to finish the catalogue.

Disregarding Lollius for the moment, we note that every single name in this enumeration represents a real person, or one of whose reality Chaucer and his contemporaries had no doubt, and that in every case the author is correctly associated with the subject. The inference is mathematically certain: *When Chaucer composed The House of Fame he believed that there was once a Lollius, long before his time, who had written something about the matter of Troy.* In no other way can we reasonably account for his mentioning Lollius in such a fashion and in such company — along with Homer, Dares, Dictys, Guido delle Colonne, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, precisely as he mentions Josephus as an authority on the wars of the Jews, Virgil on pious Aeneas, and Lucan on Caesar and Pompey. There is no ground for imagining that he felt any more doubt of the reality of Lollius and his work on Troy than he felt of the reality of Josephus and the *Bellum Iudaicum*, or of Virgil and the *Aeneid*, or of Statius and the epic of Thebes, or of Lucan and the *Pharsalia*. He was mistaken, no doubt, and we shall take occasion by-and-by to consider the genesis of his error. For the present, however, we are concerned merely with the isolated fact of the error itself: — Chaucer certainly believed that some Lollius or other had written something of importance about Troy. No matter how he came to think so. The causes of the opinion have nothing to do with the fact of the opinion as a part of the *res gestae* of the case. Later, when Chaucer came to write the *Troilus*, he used Lollius as a part of the fiction; but all that was at this time in the future. His mention of Lollius in *The House of Fame* is not fiction — it is a mistake pure and simple.

Now the mere name Lollius is not a blunder, and it is not an invention. Chaucer neither dreamed it nor made it up, for it is an authentic



*nomen gentile* borne by a score of historical Romans who have left a record behind them,<sup>1</sup> not to speak of the much larger number whom oblivion has overwhelmed. Chaucer found the name somewhere; he did not manufacture it. This point should never be forgotten.

Furthermore, wherever it was that Chaucer found the name Lollius, he found it, of course, in some context, not all alone by itself on a whited wall. Where the context was, we do not know, nor whether it was long or short, nor what statements it embodied, nor whether it was correctly or incorrectly read by the poet. One thing, however, we do know: to wit, that *the context in which Chaucer discovered the name Lollius conveyed to his mind the distinct impression that Lollius was the author of an important work on Troy*. In consequence of this impression he mentioned him in that capacity in *The House of Fame* along with Homer, Dares, Dictys, Guido, and Geoffrey. It is practically certain that Chaucer had never seen this Lollian work, for it is practically certain that it never existed. Nor was he acquainted with anybody who had ever seen it. Undoubtedly he supposed that it was lost beyond recovery. So much for the first stage of the Lollius question.

The next step brings us to Chaucer's *Troilus*.<sup>2</sup> When Chaucer came to write this novel, he wished — as all writers of fiction did, and do still — to lend his work an air of truth and authenticity. A ready and familiar device was, and still is, to appeal to some source that might be accepted as authoritative. Benoit and Boccaccio would not answer, for the conditions of the problem required an ancient (or at least an antique) personage, and preferably one who had written in a learned language. Homer was manifestly out of the question. Dares, Dictys, and Geoffrey were likewise unavailable, for their works were current, and notoriously did not contain any such story as that which Chaucer meant to tell. Guido's name might perhaps have been used at a pinch; but he also was well-known and current, and except at a pinch indeed, his dry, compendious, and unsympathetic account of the love affair could not be cited as the source of Chaucer's warm and detailed narrative. For it was not only facts that Chaucer wished to

<sup>1</sup> Von Rohden and Dessau, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, II, 295 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I postulate that *The House of Fame* was written before the *Troilus*. See the argument in *The Date of Chaucer's Troilus*, pp. 53-60.

ascribe to his *auctor*, but feelings, since he himself, so he tells us, is an outsider in matters of love:

Of no sentement I this endite,  
But out of Latin in my tonge it write (ii, 13-14).

And, in fact, there was no pinch at all. For *Lollius* was at hand, a venerable and veritable Latin name, and his vanished history, just because it had vanished, was precisely the stalking-horse that the fiction needed. Hence, as a part of that fiction, Chaucer credited his material *en bloc* to Lollius, and professed, with a light heart, to be merely a translator from the Latin.<sup>1</sup>

In furtherance of his general fiction as to source, and with the same purpose of lending his work an air of truth and vividness and authenticity, Chaucer added a multitude of classical touches that are wanting in the *Filostrato*.<sup>2</sup> A striking instance of this attempt to give the tale

<sup>1</sup> *Troilus*, ii, 14. The *Troilus* is also called a translation in the Prologue to the *Legend* (A 250, 264, 341, 350, B 324, 370), and Chaucer speaks of it, when pleading his own cause, as reproducing "what-so myn auctour mente" (A 460, B 470). Tyrwhitt's fancy of taking *Latin* in the sense of *latino volgare*, "Italian" (note to *Parson's Tale*, §104; cf. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, addition to I, 385, in vol. II, 1778) was clever and learned, as usual, but it cannot be entertained. For nothing can be clearer than that Chaucer intended (as part of his fiction) to have his readers understand that he was translating from *Latin*, not from some vernacular idiom. Boccaccio, to be sure, speaks of the *Teseide* as written in "latino volgare" (in the prefatory letter) and Chaucer had doubtless read the passage, but that is no reason for imagining that Chaucer felt at liberty to use the English word *Latin* (without "vulgar") for a modern Italian dialect ("mio fiorentino idioma" are Boccaccio's words in the proem to the *Filostrato*). A word in any context means, I take it, what it is meant to mean by the writer and what it is sure to be understood to mean by the reader. When Chaucer wrote "out of Latin in my tonge it write" he knew perfectly well that his readers would understand by "Latin" the language of Virgil and Statius, not the modern speech of Florence or Padua. Indeed, he ensured that understanding further by his reference to "olde clerkes speche" in v, 1854-1855, shortly after his mention of "Virgile, Ovyde, Omer, Lucan, and Stace" in v, 1792. Finally, even if Chaucer had meant "Italian" when he said "Latin," he would none the less have been resorting to a fiction, for he would have been deliberately misleading his contemporaries.

<sup>2</sup> Boccaccio labored to furnish the *Teseide* with appropriate mythological and other classical accoutrements, but in the *Filostrato* he is sparing of such adornments. The contrast between the two Italian poems is notable. Cf. Crescini, *Contributo agli Studi sul Boccaccio*, pp. 246-247. Since Chaucer was very familiar with the

an ancient — a Trojan — atmosphere is the introduction of Antigone's song of love as "a Trojan song"<sup>1</sup> and the conversation that follows the singing:

"Now, nece," quod Criseyde,  
 "Who made this song with so good entente?"  
 Antigone answerde anon and seyde,  
 "Ma dame, ywis, the goodlieste mayde  
 Of greet estat in al the toun of Troye,  
 And let her lyf in most honour and ioye."  
 "Forsothe, so it semeth by her song!"  
 Quod tho Criseyde.<sup>2</sup>

There is not a word of this song or of the dialogue or of the whole garden scene in the *Filostrato*, and Antigone herself is a character invented by Chaucer. The Trojanizing of the situation, if I may risk the term, is Chaucer's deliberate art. It is quite of a piece with his professing to have got hold of the very words of the *Cantus Troili* (not given in full by Lollius) and to have reproduced them in as close a version as can be made in translating from the Trojan language into our vernacular.<sup>3</sup>

Equally felicitous and to the same end is Pandarus' quotation of the Epistle of Oenone to Paris. "I am in love myself," says Pandarus to Troilus, "and am quite helpless in my own case, but yet I can assist you in yours. Indeed, my situation is much like that described in a letter that a shepherdess, Oenone by name, wrote once to your brother Paris. You saw the letter, didn't you?" "Why, no!" replies Troilus. "Well," says Pandarus, "this is how it went."

"I woot wel that it fareth thus by me  
 As to thy brother Parys an herdesse,  
 Which that y-cleped was Oēnone,  
 Wrot in a compleynt of hir hevinesse:  
 Ye say the lettre that she wroot, y gesse?"  
 "Nay, never yet, y-wis," quod Troilus.  
 "Now," quod Pandare, "herkneth; it was thus."<sup>4</sup>

*Teseide* when he wrote the *Troilus*, and used it several times in that poem, we may recognize the general influence of the *Teseide* in the passages we are now considering (cf. H. M. Cummings, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio*, p. 67).

<sup>1</sup> ii, 825.

<sup>2</sup> ii, 877-884.

<sup>3</sup> i, 393 ff. Cf. p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> i, 652-658.



An extract follows, adapted from the *Heroides*.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing about this letter in the *Filostrato*. Chaucer's device in making Pandarus profess to have seen the original, in Oenone's own handwriting, is obviously akin to the device involved in his whole Lollian fiction. It is a wonder that some critic has not accused him of fraud because he did not insert a credit to Ovid.

Another detail to the same general purport is Pandarus's casual reference to the petrified Queen Niobe as one of the sights of the day:

"For this nis not, certeyn, the nexte wyse  
To winnen love, as techen us the wyse,  
To walwe and wepe as Niobe the quene,  
Whos teres yet in marbel been ysene."<sup>2</sup>

This, too, is of course not in the *Filostrato*. One would know that well enough without taking heed to one's books.

We cannot pause to study all the classical touches that Chaucer has added to the story, but a few more must be merely enumerated, because of their important bearing on his design. Thus he makes Pandarus compare the sufferings of Troilus to the agony of Tityus torn by the vultures,<sup>3</sup> and curse himself with a reference to Cerberus.<sup>4</sup> His characters swear by Minerva and Jupiter,<sup>5</sup> by Neptune,<sup>6</sup> by Mars,<sup>7</sup> by Venus,<sup>8</sup> by "natal Ioves fest,"<sup>9</sup> by Pallas,<sup>10</sup> and so on. He describes Cressid's servants as thronging to see Troilus ride up the street from the Gate of Dardanus;<sup>11</sup> he puts into Pandarus' mouth directions for a love-letter that are adapted from Ovid and the *Ars Poetica*;<sup>12</sup> he brings a Greek spy into Troy with tidings — apparently a person who has just been captured or a knave who is playing a double game;<sup>13</sup> he introduces the episode of a visit to Deiphobus, full of intimate detail of the royal *ménage*;<sup>14</sup> he makes Cressida speak of Antenor and Aeneas

<sup>1</sup> *Troilus*, i, 659-665; *Heroides*, v, 147-154 (see p. 113, below).

<sup>2</sup> i, 697-700.

<sup>3</sup> i, 785 ff.

<sup>4</sup> "To Cerberus in helle ay be I bounde" (i, 859). Cf. *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Michel, II, 330: "Ou me lie en corde ou en fer Cerberus li portiers d'enfer."

<sup>5</sup> ii, 232-233.

<sup>10</sup> v, 977.

<sup>6</sup> ii, 443.

<sup>11</sup> ii, 614-618.

<sup>7</sup> ii, 593.

<sup>12</sup> ii, 1023-1043.

<sup>8</sup> ii, 1524.

<sup>13</sup> ii, 1111-1113.

<sup>9</sup> iii, 150.

<sup>14</sup> ii, 1394 ff.

(well-known to mediaeval readers as the traitors of the cycle) as lending their support to a lawsuit about property brought against her by false Poliphete;<sup>1</sup> he lets Troilus pretend to keep vigil in Apollo's temple to see the "holy laurer quake" and to get an oracle for the conduct of the war.<sup>2</sup> With similar regard for local and contemporary color Pandarus swears "by stocks and stones" and by the gods that dwell in heaven, and damns himself, if his speech be false, to abide as deep in hell as Tantalus.<sup>3</sup> Troilus adjures Venus by her love of Adonis whom she loved "in the shawe," and, continuing his prayer, appeals to Jove (for love of Europa), to Mars (for love of Venus), to Phoebus (for love of Daphne), to Mercury (for love of Herse), to Diana, and the Fatal Sisters.<sup>4</sup> Again, he wishes that his night with Cressida might be as long as Jupiter's with Alcmena<sup>5</sup> and chides Titan<sup>6</sup> for allowing the Dawn to leave his side so early.<sup>7</sup> Calchas assures the Greeks that Phoebus and Neptune are determined to bring Troy to destruction because Laomedon refused them their hire.<sup>8</sup> Troilus vows that he will love Cressida after he is dead and dwelling in torment with Proserpine,<sup>9</sup> but she, more sanguine, hopes to live with him in the Elysian Fields, like Orpheus and Eurydice.<sup>10</sup> She swears by all celestial gods, by every nymph and infernal deity, and by the satyrs and fauns, "that halve-goddes ben of wilderness," and she calls upon Atropos to break her thread if ever she prove false,<sup>11</sup> and declares that Simois that runs through Troy shall turn back its current before she will be unfaithful.<sup>12</sup>

All of these touches of antiquity — and enough more to make up about a hundred — are Chaucer's own, and not taken from the *Filostrato*. Their significance depends upon their number, and upon the fact that they are in the main quite apposite. Critics, to be sure,

<sup>1</sup> ii, 1463-1475, 1616.

<sup>3</sup> iii, 589-593.

<sup>2</sup> iii, 540-546.

<sup>4</sup> iii, 718-735.

<sup>5</sup> iii, 1427-1428.

<sup>6</sup> On Chaucer's error in substituting Titan for Tithonus, see p. 116, below.

<sup>7</sup> iii, 1464-1470.

<sup>8</sup> iv, 120-126.

<sup>9</sup> iv, 470-476 (cf. *Teseide*, x, 106).

<sup>10</sup> iv, 785-791. "In the feld of *pitee*, out of peyne, That hight *Elysos*," looks as if Chaucer etymologized *Elysios* with reference to (*Kyrie*) *eleison*. Cf. Ovid's "*arva piorum*," *Met.*, xi, 62 (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, 352, n. 14).

<sup>11</sup> iv, 1541-1547.

<sup>12</sup> iv, 1548-1553 (cf. *Heroides*, v, 27-31; *Roman de la Rose*, ed. Michel, II, 83).

are prone to dismiss them as mere "classical allusions," or as bits of decoration, or even as symptoms of a desire to show off. This is futile treatment. Nothing can be clearer than that such things *in this poem* — whatever they may be elsewhere in the middle ages or in the eighteenth century — are present as parts of an artistic design. They are meant to produce or to intensify an atmosphere of high antiquity — a Trojan or Lollian atmosphere. Chaucer pretends — in an artistic fiction — to be translating from an ancient author, and he tries to make his characters talk and think like persons of the heroic age in such matters of detail as do not interfere with their truth to eternal and unchanging humanity. He could not dig up Troy. It was out of his power to archaeologize in dress and manners and topography. But he could make Pandarus swear like a heathen of the heroic age, and speak familiarly of the letter he had seen that Oenone wrote to Paris, and refer to Niobe and her tears as still visible in stone — one of the wonders of the world:

"Niobe the quene,  
Whos teres yet in marbel been ysene."

And all this he did, and much more, with the same artistic purpose that had prompted him to describe his whole poem as translated from an ancient Latin author — one Lollius, whose long-buried work he had been lucky enough to disinter.

Chaucer names Lollius only twice in the *Troilus*,<sup>1</sup> but he keeps him constantly in the reader's memory by mentioning him as his *auctor* and by other more or less definite references and allusions. Altogether there are about forty such passages, or an average of one to about two hundred verses, though they are by no means regularly apportioned. Their effect upon the mind is uniform and cumulative, nor can there be any doubt, in a poem so carefully finished, that this effect was deliberately intended. In short, Chaucer takes quite particular pains to convey the impression that his *Troilus*, from beginning to end, is a faithful translation from the Latin work of Lollius, without any material additions either from other sources or from his own pen. Sometimes, to be sure, he professes or implies condensation, and now and then he suggests that he has occasionally consulted the well-known

<sup>1</sup> i, 394; v, 1653.



authorities,<sup>1</sup> but these remarks are never made in such a way as to diminish the impression of thoroughgoing fidelity to Lollius. On the contrary, they strengthen that impression, for they always imply either that Lollius agrees with other authorities in the detail in question, or that the poet never departs from Lollius, even in a trifle, without due notice. Lollius, then, in Chaucer's fiction, is not Boccaccio or Benoit or Guido or Statius or Ovid or Boëthius: *he is simply Lollius*, an alleged Latin author on the Trojan War, to whom Chaucer chooses, for his artistic purposes, to credit practically everything that the *Troilus* contains — everything, that is, that Chaucer drew from Boccaccio and Benoit and Guido and Statius and Ovid and Boëthius, and likewise everything that he drew from the brain of Geoffrey Chaucer. In other words, Chaucer's pretended use of Lollius is not an acknowledgement of obligations to Boccaccio or to anybody else: it is a fiction, deliberately adopted in advance, impressed upon the reader with all the emphasis of which the poet is capable, and fostered and supported by repeated assertion and skilful innuendo.

Here we must be on our guard against taking the poet too seriously. Chaucer counted on two classes of contemporary readers: first, the gentlemen and some of the ladies of his time, who were cultivated but not scholarly; and second, a very limited group of men of learning, like Gower and Strode, the pair to whom the *Troilus* is dedicated. If the first class accepted his citation as gospel truth, and were convinced that he had unearthed a Trojan history by one Lollius in some old parchment volume, well and good! If the second class saw through

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer twice distinguishes sharply between the usual story of Troy, to be found in Homer and Dictys and Dares, and the particular Trojan story that he has in hand in the *Troilus*. One of these distinguishing passages comes very early in the poem (i, 141-147), the other is near the end (v. 1765-1771).

All the passages in which Chaucer refers or alludes to an *auctor* or a source are collected and discussed in Appendix I (pp. 92-109, below). This appendix the reader is advised to ignore if he agrees with my assertions. If he dissents, I beg him to peruse only enough of it to convince him. The chief reason for the existence of this appendix is the elaborate and ingenious argument of Dr. H. M. Cummings in Chapter viii of his substantial dissertation on *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to the Italian Works of Boccaccio* (Cincinnati, 1916) — an argument which arrives at results that differ *toto caelo* from what seems to me the plain meaning of the evidence. It is only fair to add that I have found Dr. Cummings's monograph very useful in many ways.

the device and recognized Lollius as a part of the fiction, still well and good! Everybody would be content. The ladies and gentlemen would raise no question anyhow; the scholars would compliment him on the success of his poetic device. Nobody would make trouble until modern scholarship should come into existence, with its artificially stimulated craving for literary facts — and Chaucer was under no obligation to quench the thirst of modern scholarship.

Another caution seems to be necessary at this point, though one would suppose a sense of humor might have provided for it in advance. Chaucer's pretence of drawing his plot and sentiments from the Latin work of one Lollius is an artistic device, not a fraud. It has just as much and just as little to do with *veracity* as Addison's pretending to translate the Vision of Mirzah from a manuscript that he "picked up when he was at Grand Cairo," or Goldsmith's crediting *The Citizen of the World* to a Chinese sage, or Hawthorne's calling *Rappaccini's Daughter* a translation from the "Beatrice; ou la Belle Empoisonneuse" of M. de l'Aubépine, the author of "L'Artiste du Beau; ou le Papillon Mécanique" in five volumes quarto; or Mr. Maurice Hewlett's pretending to utilize, for his *Richard Yea and Nay*, a chronicle by one "Milo, a Carthusian monk, abbot of the cloister of Saint Mary-of-the-Pine by Poitiers," who enjoyed the distinction of being "the life-long friend" of King Richard himself — a real person, by the way, whose account of the "acta" of Richard I exists no longer.<sup>1</sup> I cannot refrain from quoting a recent critic of Mr. Hewlett, merely to show how different is the spirit in which we judge our contemporary romancers and their clever tricks, from the stodgy mixture of naïve literalness and moral fervor that dominates us when we appraise Chaucer. "It is from the writings of this priest," says Mr. Milton Bonner, "that Mr. Hewlett pretends to draw justification for his inventions. The extracts from Milo's supposititious history lend just the air of verity that we needed to help overcome scruples when confronted by certain aspects of the story."<sup>2</sup>

Here, perhaps, is the place to compare Chaucer's artistic device in the *Troilus* with his procedure in several of the *Canterbury Tales*.

<sup>1</sup> See Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, I, xxxiii-xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Maurice Hewlett, Boston, 1910, p. 81.

*The Miller's Tale* and the *Reeve's* are fabliaux worked up, doubtless, from the French; yet Chaucer makes the Miller localize the story at Oxford,<sup>1</sup> and the Reeve lays the scene of the adventure with which he replies to the Miller, at Trumpington, near Cambridge, where there is a brook with a bridge and a mill, emphasizing his story as "verray sooth."<sup>2</sup> *The Cook's Tale* is "a litel iape that fil in our citee" of London.<sup>3</sup> *The Friar's Tale*, in like manner, is of persons well-known "in my contree,"<sup>4</sup> and his opponent the Sumner is earnest enough in denouncing it as a lie.<sup>5</sup> Yet he localizes his own anecdote in a marshy district called Holderness in Yorkshire.<sup>6</sup> Even the Nun's Priest follows the fashion, though with a deliciously ironical innuendo:

"This storie is also trewe, I undertake,  
As is the book of Launcelot de Lake,  
That wommen holde in ful great reverence."<sup>7</sup>

Particularly enlightening with regard to Chaucer's methods as a writer of fiction are the words of the Man of Law in praise of merchants. "Ye are the fathers of tidings," says the lawyer, "and of tales, both those of peace and those of strife!

"I were right now of tales desolat,  
Nere that a marchaunt, goon is many a yere,  
Me taughte a tale, which that ye shal here."<sup>8</sup>

Then follows the story of Constance, which is taken for the most part from Nicholas Trivet's chronicle, though Trivet might never have walked the earth for anything that Chaucer says about him.

Nowhere, in short, does Chaucer, in his capacity of writer of fiction, recognize any obligation whatever to cite the actual source of his material, or scruple to lend an air of truth and reality to his stories by including express statements as to source or scene that bear no relation whatever to the facts. We have as much, and as little, reason to be surprised at his ascription of the *Troilus* to somebody different from Boccaccio as to be surprised at his pretending to have dreamed *The*

<sup>1</sup> A 3187. On these localizing touches cf. Tatlock, *The Scene of the Franklin's Tale Visited*, p. 70, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> A 3921-3924.

<sup>3</sup> A 4343.

<sup>4</sup> D 1299.

<sup>5</sup> D 1670.

<sup>6</sup> D 1709-1712.

<sup>7</sup> B 4401-4403.

<sup>8</sup> B 129-133.



*Book of the Duchess* and the *House of Fame*. In the latter case, we recall, he mentions the very month and day on which he had the vision! <sup>1</sup>

Let us next consider the attitude of Chaucer's immediate circle toward his ascription of the *Troilus* material to Lollius. The poem is dedicated to John Gower and Ralph Strode. Did these scholarly persons accept this ascription as a matter of fact? Of course not. Strode was a professional philosopher, and must instantly have recognized the complaint of Cressida <sup>2</sup> and the song of *Troilus* <sup>3</sup> in the Third Book and the long soliloquy of *Troilus* in Book Fourth, <sup>4</sup> as founded on Boëthius. This information, indeed, was within the reach of any Englishman who had access to a copy of Chaucer's own version, if, as is altogether likely, this had been published before the *Troilus* came out. Gower, for his part, might be trusted to detect the borrowings from Ovid, whose works he knew almost by heart. In particular, he could not miss the quotation in Book i <sup>5</sup> from Oenone's epistle in the *Heroides*, <sup>6</sup> which Chaucer himself had sufficiently labelled for any half-educated reader by making Pandarus introduce it as an extract from "the letter that she wrote." <sup>7</sup> Neither Gower nor Strode could fail to perceive that Cassandra's account of the Theban contest <sup>8</sup> was drawn from Statius, even if Chaucer himself is not responsible for the insertion of the twelve lines of Latin that give the argument of the twelve books of the *Thebaid*. <sup>9</sup> As for the story of *Troilus* in general, it was perfectly familiar to Gower in one of his favorite volumes, the *Roman de Troie*, <sup>10</sup> and he could scarcely have overlooked all of the numerous passages for which Chaucer is indebted to Benoit. <sup>11</sup>

This accumulation of "details tending to prove" may seem absurd in so plain a case, but the reader will pardon it if he recollects the in-

<sup>1</sup> *House of Fame*, 63.

<sup>2</sup> iii, 813-836; Boëthius, ii, prose 4.

<sup>3</sup> iii, 1744-1771; Boëthius, ii, metre 8.

<sup>4</sup> iv, 958-1078; Boëthius, v, pr. 2 and 3.

<sup>5</sup> i, 659-665 (cf. p. 113, below).

<sup>6</sup> v, 147-154.

<sup>8</sup> v, 1485-1510.

<sup>7</sup> i, 656.

<sup>9</sup> After v, 1498.

<sup>10</sup> See Kittredge, *Date of Chaucer's Troilus*, pp. 4-7.

<sup>11</sup> See Young, *Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde*, pp. 105 ff.

clination of scholars to judge the middle ages as a time apart, when nobody thought or felt or acted as men do now-a-days. There was, we are told, a childlike faith in authority — the written word was always accepted at its face value. Perhaps so — though I doubt it vehemently — but that has nothing to do with what passed between man and man in the give-and-take of ordinary life. Gower and Strode might have accepted a citation of Lollius as a sober acknowledgment of genuine indebtedness if they had seen it in Vincent of Beauvais or John of Salisbury; but they knew the difference between an encyclopaedist or a philosopher and a romancing poet, and they knew Geoffrey Chaucer in his habit as he lived. How many of his readers Mr. Hewlett took in with his Abbot Milo, who shall tell? Not many, I fancy, among the better educated; none at all, I am sure, among his personal friends. Nor did Mr. Hewlett desire to take anybody in. He simply wished to heighten the verisimilitude of his romance by means of an ancient and well-accredited device.

But let us return to Strode and Gower. Can there be the slightest doubt that Chaucer told these intimate friends of his all he knew about the *Filostrato* months before he began to work at his own adaptation, or that, as time went on, he read parts of the *Troilus* to them and talked over his plans with regard to the work, including the felicitous idea of ascribing it to one Lollius? At the outset we purposed to examine such probabilities in the light not only of reason and common sense but also of the habits of literary men. Are we to assume that Chaucer never discussed his poems while he was writing them?

Chaucer's immediate circle, then, knew well enough, when the *Troilus* appeared, that he had drawn much of his material from an Italian poet, and none of it from Lollius. He made no secret of the matter; indeed, he could not have mystified them if he had wished. Nor is there any likelihood that he swore them to secrecy when he took them into his confidence. He was composing a romantic novel, not forging a will. And, beyond any reasonable question, the fact that the *Troilus* came largely from an Italian poem was soon a matter of common knowledge, with Chaucer's hearty consent, among all such persons as took an interest in him and his works.

For this last proposition, however, we need not depend upon general probabilities. There is a distinct piece of positive evidence that

establishes it beyond a peradventure. I refer to a notorious passage in Lydgate, which has been stretched upon the rack a score of times to elicit confessions of things that it could not confess, but has never, I think, been interrogated with regard to the single point on which it is really competent to testify and quite ready to speak without compulsion.

In youth he made a translacion  
Of a booke which called is Trophe  
In Lumbard tong, as men may reade and see,  
And in our vulgare, long or that he deyed,  
Gauē it the name of Troylous and Cresseyde.<sup>1</sup>

Lydgate is a muddled witness, as usual. Still, the difficulties in the present case are by no means staggering. "In his youth" is too early, but Lydgate knew nothing about the minutiae of Chaucerian chronology, and the question of dates does not here concern us. "Trophe" is a manifest blunder. There is no chance whatever that the *Filostrato*, or anything else that Chaucer used in the *Troilus*, was ever called by any such name. The blunder is due to mere confusion of memory. Lydgate had read *The Monk's Tale*, where Chaucer cites "Trophe" as an authority on the Pillars of Hercules,<sup>2</sup> and he shifted the application in a moment of paramnesia. Chaucer's "Trophee" may be a mystery,<sup>3</sup> but Lydgate's is not. It has no foundation or genesis save in this passage of *The Monk's Tale*, misapplied by a constitutional blunderer, and it need trouble us no more.

What remains, then, of our quotation from Lydgate? Simply this: the statement that Chaucer translated his *Troilus* from a book "in Lombard tongue"—that is, in Italian. In other words, good Dan John, about a generation after Chaucer's death, was well aware that the source of the *Troilus* was not a Latin book by Lollius, but a book in the Italian language. How did Lydgate know? Why, from the common talk of literary men, passed down by immediate tradition

<sup>1</sup> *Falls of Princes*, Prologue (ed. 1554, Tottell, sig. A. ii v<sup>o</sup>; ed. 1558, Wayland, sig. A. ii v<sup>o</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> B 3307.

<sup>3</sup> For some recent conjectures see my essay on *The Pillars of Hercules and Chaucer's "Trophee,"* in the *Putnam Anniversary Volume*, 1909, pp. 545 ff.; Tupper, *Modern Language Notes*, XXXI, 11; Emerson, in the same, XXXI, 142.



from the contemporaries of Chaucer himself.<sup>1</sup> In other words, there had never been any secret about the derivation of the *Troilus* from the *Filostrato*. Chaucer's citation of Lollius was not deceit, but transparent literary artifice. Anybody who asked the facts was at liberty to learn them. They were matters of general knowledge among Chaucer's friends and the court circle in general.

Much dust has been raised over Chaucer's neglect or omission to mention the name of Boccaccio anywhere. Let us examine the matter. The places in which moderns look in vain for some reference to Boccaccio are the *Troilus*, *The Knight's Tale*, *Anelida and Arcite*, *The Monk's Tale*, and *The Clerk's Tale*.<sup>2</sup>

The *Troilus* we have already considered, and to it we shall later return. What has there been said applies in general (except so far as Lollius is concerned) to *The Knight's Tale*. I can see no reason why Chaucer should have mentioned, or made the knight mention, the direct source of the story, any more than in the case of the other *Canterbury Tales*. For almost every one of these Chaucer had a source; but he has seldom mentioned it. In several instances the teller of the story insists on its truth and undertakes to localize it in England. In no one of all these cases has anybody expressed amazement at Chaucer's fiction in localizing, which is, of course, precisely similar to that of giving your story (if it deals with ancient times) an air of antiquity

<sup>1</sup> We should observe that Lydgate does not connect Lollius with "Trophee" or assert that Chaucer took the *Troilus* from Lollius. On the contrary, his assertion that Chaucer translated from the Italian records a piece of information which amounts to an express denial that Chaucer's source was a Latin writer — whether Lollius or anybody else. When Lydgate mentions Lollius, as he does (once) in the *Troy Book*, he refers to him not as an author used by Chaucer anywhere, but simply as a person who wrote about the siege of Troy. "And of this sege wrot eke Lollius" (ed. Bergen. *Prolog.*, 309). This information Lydgate doubtless got from *The House of Fame*. He did not accept the statement of Chaucer that he translated the *Troilus* from Lollius' Latin, for he had better information; but he did accept the statement that there once was a Lollius who composed a work on the Trojan history.

<sup>2</sup> Nobody, I believe, expresses amazement at Chaucer's failure to mention Boccaccio in *The Parliament of Fowls* or the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*. As to *The Franklin's Tale*, if the source was really Boccaccio (a question not here in place to debate), one has but to compare the stories to see that Chaucer must have had a pedant's conscience if he had felt obliged to refer to Boccaccio for a performance that was so marvellously his own. And what, in turn, was Boccaccio's source, and why did not he refer to it?

by suppressing the name of your actual modern authority and referring either to some definite Lollius (as in *Troilus*) or in general to the "old stories" or "old books,"<sup>1</sup> which is what the knight does:

As olde bokes seyn  
That al this storie tellen more pley<sup>n</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

Once, indeed, he adds Statius to the other old books:

As men may biholde  
In Stace of Thebes, and thise bokes olde (2293-2294).<sup>3</sup>

The particular thing is in the *Teseide*, vii, 72, not in Statius.<sup>3</sup> Note that there is absolutely no claim to originality. Throughout the poem, the knight protests, again and again, that he is condensing a tale that he has read.<sup>4</sup> For my part, I can see no reason in literary morals for mentioning Boccaccio, and I cannot fail to see abundant reason, in good art, for doing exactly what Chaucer has done. If it be objected that *The Knight's Tale* is a big thing, and that therefore Chaucer was under more pressing obligation to mention his source than in the case of the anonymous fabliaux, I will take refuge in the *Melibee*, where also the author is not mentioned, and there is likewise no pretence of originality. Surely, the most mathematically minded of moderns can grasp the general fact that, when a mediaeval writer professed to be following some *auctor* or other, thus declining all merit of originality, he was under no sort of obligation to specify who that *auctor* really was. Chaucer, at all events, acknowledged no such obligation. His practice was to do so only when to refer to the source would add to the authority or verisimilitude. In *The Knight's Tale*, a reference to

<sup>1</sup> A 859, 1198, 1463, 2155.

<sup>2</sup> A 1463-1464.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Wise makes an ingenious defence of what he calls Chaucer's "good faith" in this reference. By "hir thinges," he says, "Chaucer probably means such sacrificial rites as Boccaccio describes, *Tes.* vii. 75," and he goes on to show that similar rites are described (though not credited to Emilia, of course) in the *Thebaid* (*The Influence of Statius upon Chaucer*, pp. 98-100). Very likely Chaucer had this fact in mind, but that does not change the other fact, — namely, that he deliberately undertakes, both here and elsewhere, to produce the impression that he is following an ancient author in telling the story of Palamon and Arcite.

<sup>4</sup> A 875-892, 985, 994-1000, 1187-1190, 1201, 1341, 1358, 1377-1380, 1417, 1461, 1463-1464, 1480, 1782, 1895, 1935, 1953-1954, 2039-2040, 2052, 2073-2074, 2197-2208, 2263-2264, 2284-2288, 2820-2821, 2919-2966.

Boccaccio's *Teseide* would, on the contrary, have decreased this effect. It would have been inartistic pedantry. Let it here be remembered that in the one Canterbury Tale which Chaucer invented (*Sir Thopas*) he fictitiously declines to pass as the author. It is the only story he knows — "a rym I lerned longe agoon,"<sup>1</sup> and "the beste rym I can."<sup>2</sup>

That Chaucer did not mention Boccaccio in connection with the *Anelida* would never have attracted a moment's attention, were it not that scholars were busied in rolling up a cumulative case. We shall return to this fragment presently.

In *The Clerk's Tale*, that scholar refers in the most definite and particular way to Petrarch. The reference completely covers the borrowing. There was no call to give the earlier history of the document anyhow, whether Chaucer knew it (from Petrarch's preliminary letter) or not. That a definite and correct source is here referred to is a part of the drama. This is exactly what one would expect the Clerk, a scholar, to do, and it was certainly in keeping with the situation for him to refer to a clerk who praised a woman, for he was answering the Wife of Bath, who had declared that such a case had never been heard of. Here to refer to the exact source, then, was as artistic on Chaucer's part as not to refer to it in the other cases. However, the point we are discussing — why does Chaucer never refer to Boccaccio by name? — is neither advanced nor retarded by this instance. It is answer enough to say: He does not refer to Boccaccio because he got the tale from Petrarch. The fiction here — for there is almost always a fiction — consists in the Clerk's assertion that Petrarch told him the story in person at Padua.

And so we come to *The Monk's Tale* — where, and where alone, there is a real puzzle. For here, in the account of Zenobia, which comes from Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*, the Monk refers to "my maister Petrak." Why, I do not know, — perhaps because Chaucer thought him a more appropriate author than Boccaccio for the decorous and stately Monk to cite. That, at all events, would be reason enough. As to lapse of memory, or confusion — that, too would certainly have been easy. Almost all the Zenobia comes from Boccaccio's treatise *De Claris Mulieribus*, — only a bit from the *De Casibus* — and

<sup>1</sup> B 1898-1899.

<sup>2</sup> B 2118.



what more likely than that Chaucer should have confused this in his memory with Petrarch's work with a similar title, *De Viris Illustribus*? Petrarch does speak of Zenobia in the *Trionfo della Fama* (ii, 107-117, ed. Appel, p. 255); but I see no reason to believe that Chaucer was acquainted with that poem.

Since we are on the subject of "Boccaccio and obligations," may it not be enlightening to observe how Boccaccio himself proceeded in the matter of acknowledging indebtedness? First, the *Teseide*. In the dedicatory letter to la Fiammetta, Boccaccio asserts that he came across a very ancient history, unknown to most people,<sup>1</sup> and this he has turned into Italian rhyme. In the second stanza of the poem itself he repeats this statement, declaring that he is about to write in rhyme an ancient history, so buried and hidden in years that no Latin author says anything about it, to the best of his knowledge and belief:

E' m'è venuta voglia con pietosa  
Rima di scriver una storia antica,  
Tanto negli anni riposta e nascosa,  
Che latino autor non par ne dica,  
Per quel ch' i' senta, in libro alcuna cosa.<sup>2</sup>

A very large part of the *Teseide* is borrowed from the *Thebaid*.<sup>3</sup> Yet Statius is nowhere cited, for it is Boccaccio's deliberate intention to refer his epic to a source known only to himself, — to a lost author whom he has had the luck to discover. Now when Chaucer wrote the *Troilus*, he was well acquainted with both the *Thebaid* and the *Teseide*.<sup>4</sup> Of course, then, he saw whence the Italian poet had derived a large part of his material, never scrupling to translate literally. Nor could he fail to appreciate the wisdom and artistic justification of Boccaccio's pretence about the lost author so happily discovered by him. Here let it be noted that Chaucer's debt to Boccaccio in the *Troilus* is for almost exactly one third of his poem — precisely the

<sup>1</sup> "Trovata una antichissima storia, e al più delle genti non manifesta" (p. 3).

<sup>2</sup> This passage makes the question whether Chaucer knew the dedicatory letter to la Fiammetta a matter of indifference in our discussion. Cf. *Teseide*, xii, 84-85. Note also "Sì gli nasconde in sè la lunga etade," vi, 64 (*Aeneid*, v, 302), and in particular "se il ver l'antichità ragiona," xii, 53, where the poet is describing Emilia.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 121 ff., below for details.

<sup>4</sup> On Chaucer's use of the *Teseide* in the *Troilus*, see pp. 110 ff., below.

amount of Boccaccio's debt to Statius in the *Teseide*. It's a poor rule that won't work both ways: yet I have heard nobody express surprise at Boccaccio's silence about his debt to Statius.

When we examine the *Filostrato*, we observe a state of things no less interesting and significant. Boccaccio assures his lady in the *Proemio* that he found it impossible to conceal his feelings of love and sorrow without dying. He determined, therefore, to relieve them by utterance, and, by a kind of divine inspiration, he hit upon the idea of relating them in song in the character of some lover whose sufferings resembled his own. "Meco adunque con sollecita cura cominciai a rivolgere l'antiche storie, per trovare cui potesse verisimilmente fare scudo del mio segreto e amoroso dolore." No personage that was better adapted to this purpose occurred to him than "il valoroso giovane Troilo," son of the noble Priam, king of Troy; for the life of Troilus, in that it was sorrowful on account of love and the absence of Criseida, "se fede alcuna alle antiche storie si può dare," was very similar to Boccaccio's own after the departure of his lady. Therefore he composed the *Filostrato*. "When you find Troilus," he adds, "lamenting the departure of Criseida, you will be able to comprehend my words, my tears, my sighs, and my anguish; when he praises Criseida you may understand that I am praising you. The other matters, however, concerning his previous felicity, have no reference to me. I have inserted them because they are found in the history of that noble lover." <sup>1</sup>

The Italian poet, then, here as in the *Teseide*, professes to have drawn his material from some ancient author, to whose work he refers as *la storia* more than once in the course of the poem.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, he derived the story of Troilus and Cressida from the *Roman de Troie* of Benoit de Sainte Maure, and utilized Guido delle Colonne to some extent;<sup>3</sup> but neither of these writers did he deign to mention, wisely and artistically preferring to lend his poem the authority of

<sup>1</sup> L'altre cose [besides the laments and the praises of the lady], che oltre a queste vi sono assai, niuna, siccome già dissi, a me non appartiene, nè per me vi si pone, ma perchè la storia nel nobile innamorato giovane lo richiede (p. 9).

<sup>2</sup> See i, 16, 46; iii, 90; cf. i, 48.

<sup>3</sup> See Young, *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Criseyde*, 1908, for details.

an unnamed ancient. Like Chaucer, Boccaccio credits to this ancient not only all that he has borrowed from anybody, but also all that he has invented himself.

Now Chaucer was just as familiar with Benoit as Boccaccio was;<sup>1</sup> and, as in the case of the *Teseide* he had noted the Italian's unacknowledged debt to Statius, so in the case of the *Filostrato* he noted his unacknowledged debt to Benoit.<sup>2</sup> This debt, he saw, was substantial; yet Boccaccio had not only ignored it but had taken pains to divert attention from Benoit by insisting on a very "ancient" source. Further, Chaucer observed (no doubt with pleasure) that in the *Teseide* Boccaccio had appealed to a history so old as not to be mentioned by the [known and extant] Latin writers — that is, to a lost document which the Italian poet had had the good fortune to find.

Chaucer was an apt pupil, and he took all the hints. He suppressed the name of Boccaccio in the *Troilus* as Boccaccio had suppressed the name of Benoit in the *Filostrato*, and he ascribed his poem to an ancient Latin writer. Further, he improved upon the fiction that his master had used in the *Teseide*. He actually knew (so he thought) the name of an ancient who had written a lost work on the Trojan War — one Lollus — and so he not only pretended to have found a manuscript known to few or none of his contemporaries, but gave the very name of the author whom he professed to follow.

That Chaucer did in very truth get the suggestion for the Lollian fiction (except for the name) from Boccaccio in the manner just indicated, and from the Italian passages just referred to, is fortunately not a matter of conjecture or even of mere inference. For we may be quite certain that he read with care both the *Proemio* to the *Filostrato* and the second stanza of the *Teseide*. As to the *Proemio*, his eager disclaimer of personal knowledge of a lover's feelings, his profession of being an outsider in such matters,<sup>3</sup> is a clear and deliberate reversal

<sup>1</sup> See *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, 344 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It may no doubt be alleged that Boccaccio's indebtedness to Benoit in the *Filostrato* is not so large *in bulk* as Chaucer's indebtedness to Boccaccio in the *Troilus*; but that does not signify. Boccaccio's debt to Benoit was substantial — without Benoit there would have been no *Filostrato*. Yet Boccaccio not only ignores Benoit, but takes pains to divert attention from him by insisting on an "ancient" source.

<sup>3</sup> *Troilus*, ii, 8-21.



of the situation of Boccaccio as there described.<sup>1</sup> As to the second stanza of the *Teseide*, the evidence is still more striking, for Chaucer, before he composed either the *Palamon* or the *Troilus*, had actually utilized that stanza as the second stanza of his unfinished *Anelida and Arcite*.

E' m' è venuta voglia con pietosa  
Rima di scriver una storia antica,  
Tanto negli anni riposta e nascosa,  
Che latino autor non par ne dica,  
Per quel ch' i' senta, in libro alcuna cosa.<sup>2</sup>

For it ful depe is sonken in my minde  
With pitous herte in English for tendyte  
This olde storie, in Latin which I finde,  
Of quene Anelida and fals Arcite,  
That elde, which that al can frete and byte,  
As it hath freten many a noble storie,  
Hath nigh devoured out of our memorie.<sup>3</sup>

The indebtedness of the introductory stanzas of *Anelida* to the introductory stanzas of the *Teseide* was noted years ago by ten Brink;<sup>4</sup> but the bearing of the situation on the Lollian fiction in the *Troilus*

<sup>1</sup> If this does not suffice, we may clinch the matter by comparing *Troilus*, v, 666-679, with *Filostrato*, v, 70, and with a passage in the *Proemio*. Stanza 70 gave Chaucer a part of his lines, but 671-672 are straight from the *Proemio*:

And thennes comth this eyr, that is so swote  
That in my soule I fele it doth me bote.

"Quindi ogni aura, ogni soave vento che di colà viene, così nel viso ricevo, quasi il vostro senza niuno fallo abbia tocco: nè è perciò troppo lungo questo mitigamento" (p. 4).

<sup>2</sup> *Teseide*, i, 2. Cf. the preliminary letter to la Fiammetta:—"Trovata una antichissima storia, e al più delle genti non manifesta" (p. 3).

<sup>3</sup> *Anelida*, st. 2. The first ten stanzas of the *Anelida* have their sources as follows:—1-3 in *Teseide*, i, 1-3 (in reverse order, 3, 2, 1); 4-7 in *Thebaid*, xii, 519-535, with a touch from *Teseide*, ii, 22, in stanza 6; 8-10 in *Teseide*, ii, 10-12. With stanza 11 Chaucer begins to be original and he so continues. At the end of the fragment he is about to describe the temple of Mars, and here, of course, imitation of Statius or of the *Teseide* (or of both) would have come in again. But the story in general was certainly to be from neither Statius nor Boccaccio, nor, indeed, from any work that scholars have been able to name or even to guess at. Skeat has well noted the resemblance to the story of the falcon in *The Squire's Tale* (*Oxford Chaucer*, I, 534).

<sup>4</sup> *Chaucer, Studien*, 1870, pp. 49-53.

hardly seems to have been perceived. Chaucer's procedure in the two poems is practically the same. In the *Anelida* he adopts from the *Teseide* Boccaccio's fiction of having discovered a lost or forgotten piece of ancient history, and expressly declares that he is about to translate it from the Latin.<sup>1</sup> In the *Troilus*, as we have seen, he adopts the very same fiction, improving upon it by actually naming the Latin writer — one Lollius — whom he pretends to translate faithfully.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A reminiscence of Boccaccio's fiction in the *Teseide* as to a source very ancient and therefore little known — an echo, indeed, of his very words — occurs also in the defence of Chaucer by Alcestis in the *Legend*:

He made the book that hight the Hous of Fame,  
And ek the Deeth of Blaunche the Duchesse,  
And the Parlement of Foules, as I gesse,  
And al the love of Palamon and Arcite, —  
Of Thebes, thogh the storie is knowen lyte, —  
And many an ympne for your holydayes (A 405-410, B 417-422).

That is, "Chaucer wrote all the love of Palamoun and Arcite" and then, parenthetically, "they were of Thebes, although (unlike the tale of Cadmus and Oedipus and Eteocles and Polynices — the regular Theban cycle) their particular history is not included in the ordinary accounts of Thebes, and is therefore comparatively little known." It is, as Boccaccio has said, "al più delle genti non manifesta," "negli anni riposta e nascosa." In saying that "the *story* is little known," Chaucer is not speaking of his own special version, but of the *story itself*, i.e. the *history*, the *old tale*. This interpretation (which accords with the regular meaning of *story* in Chaucer, and which completely justifies the *though*) is, in the main, that of ten Brink and Skeat. It removes the passage from its consecrated position as an indication of chronology, for what Alcestis says is, in effect, "He has told the little-known history of Palamon and Arcite," not "He has told the history of Palamon and Arcite, but his poem has attracted slight attention." Thus we are left free to put the *Palamon* where it belongs, before the *Troilus* (see p. 69, note).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Anelida* (as just quoted) with *Troilus*, ii, 13-14: "Of no sentement I this endyte, But out of Latin in [= into] my tonge it write." Note also that the *Troilus* is called a translation in *The Legend of Good Women*, A 350 (B 370), cf. A 250 (B 324).

I think the parallel may be carried still farther. In the *Anelida*, after declaring that he is to translate from the Latin an old and almost forgotten story, Chaucer concludes his proem with the avowal, "First follow I Stace, and after him Corinne" (21). In fact he follows Statius (and the *Teseide*) for the next seven stanzas (4-10) and then begins to invent. At stanza 11, then, we are to suppose that he begins his pretended translation from Corinne — a Theban story. The most natural inference is that Chaucer somehow got hold of the name of Corinna and found her described as a famous Theban poetess, and that he accordingly utilized her name as he utilized that of Lollius in the *Troilus*. Where he found the so-called Theban Corinna mentioned, we do not know, any more than we know where he found the name

Since he really believed (as *The House of Fame* shows) that there had once existed a work on Troy by this Lollius, the alleged use of him in the *Troilus* involves the pretence that he had discovered the long-lost document.

What Chaucer was about in ascribing the *Troilus* as a whole to Lollius — the real *ad hoc* of his artistic device — may be further illustrated, on a smaller scale, by a curious passage in the poem itself. In the Fourth Book, when Pandarus is trying to cheer up his disconsolate friend, he cites a certain Zanzis or Zauzis:

And eek, as writ Zanzis, that was ful wys,  
 "The newe love out chaceth ofte tholde,"  
 And upon newe cas lyth newe avys.  
 Thenk eek thyself to saven artow holde.  
 Swich fyr by proces shal of kinde colde;  
 For syn it is but casuel plesaunce,  
 Som cas shal putte it out of remembraunce;

For al-so seur as day cometh after night,  
 The newe loue, labour, or other wo,  
 Or elles selde seeing of a wight,  
 Don olde affeccions alle ouer-go;  
 And, for thy part, thou shalt have oon of tho  
 Tabrigge with thy bittre peynes smerte:  
 Absence of hir shal dryue hir out of herte (iv, 414-427).

For all this, the *Filostrato* has merely (iv, 49, 1-4)

E come io udii già sovente dire,  
 Il nuovo amor sempre caccia l'antico;  
 Nuovo piacere il presente martire  
 Torrà da te.

*Ballenus* and various other pieces of curious lore (see p. 74, below). It is certain enough that the *Anelida* preceded the *Palamon* (see Tatlock, *Development and Chronology*, pp. 83-86, where previous studies of Mather and others are cited). Whether the *Troilus* or the *Anelida* was written first, makes little or no difference in our discussion, and the point may be waived. For my own part, I agree with Lowes in the order *Anelida*, *Palamon*, *Troilus* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XX, 861). At all events, the *Anelida* and the *Troilus* cannot be far apart in date, and the fiction of a lost or hitherto unknown Latin source in the *Anelida* throws a strong light on Chaucer's intention in citing Lollius as his Latin *auctor* in the *Troilus*. I may add that the parallel still holds good if *Corinne* be interpreted as *Corinnus* (Skeat) or as *Ovid* (Shannon, *Publications*, as above, XXVII, 461 ff.), since on either of those two hypotheses the poet would still be pretending to follow for his narrative a lost document which he had discovered.



The saying, though of course Boccaccio does not let Pandaro say so, is from the *Remedia Amoris*, being equally similar to "Successore novo vincitur omnis amor" (462) and to "Et posita est cura cura repulsa nova" (484). Naturally Chaucer recognized it, for the former verse introduces the famous passage about Chryseis and the latter concludes it.<sup>1</sup> His mind, therefore, went back to the *Remedia*, and he expanded Pandarus's speech by adding certain other cures for love that are mentioned by Ovid, — occupation (see *R. A.*, 135-210, especially 139-144, 149-150, 205-206) and absence (*R. A.*, 214-239).<sup>2</sup> Yet he chose to ascribe "The newe love out-chacheth ofte the olde" to some old sage, Zanzis<sup>3</sup> or Zauzis, whom an ancient like Pandarus might be supposed to quote. Here we have a device which, in miniature, is absolutely identical with the ascription of the whole poem to an ancient Latin worthy, one Lollius, an authority on Troy and the Trojans.

<sup>1</sup> *R. A.*, 462-484 (cf. Kittredge, *The Date of Chaucer's Troilus*, pp. 17 ff.; Wilkins, *Boccaccio Studies*, pp. 54-59).

<sup>2</sup> In this expansion he follows in part Troilo's words to Pandaro as given by Boccaccio a few stanzas later (iv. 59, overlooked by Rossetti, p. 186, and by Cummings, p. 72):

Credimi Pandar, credimi che amore  
Quando s'apprende per sommo piacere  
Nell' animo d'alcun, cacciarnel fuore  
Non si può mai, ma puonne ben cadere  
*In processo di tempo, se dolore,*  
O morte, o povertà, o non vedere  
*La cosa amata non gli son cagione,*  
Com' egli avvenne già a più persone.

Swich fyr by proces shal of kynde colde.

For also seur as day cometh after night,  
The newe love, labour, or other wo,  
Or elles selde seinge of a wight,  
Don olde affeciouns alle ouer-go (iv, 418, 421-424).

"Labour," not in Boccaccio, is directly from Ovid.

<sup>3</sup> Zanzis is thought to be Zeuxis. One wonders whether Chaucer had happened to hear of the wise and prudent person of that name who figures in the Alexander story. This Zeuxis makes his appearance in the first book of Julius Valerius. The author takes pains to assure us that this is not the famous painter (see *The Physician's Tale*, C 16), but one of Philip's courtiers. He had charge of the young Alexander's expenditures and wrote to inform Philip and Olympias that the prince was wasting his allowance in lavish giving (i, 16, Kuebler, pp. 17-18).

Little did Chaucer imagine, when in the *Troilus* he adopted and improved Boccaccio's fiction of a lost *auctor*, that future generations would pull long faces as they solemnly debated his ingratitude in neglecting to specify his extensive obligations to the Italian poet. When he and Boccaccio first met "in the feld of pitee, out of peyne, that hight Elysos," it is unlikely that Boccaccio thought of reproving him. If, however, Boccaccio was so lacking in humor, and in appreciation of an author's rights, no doubt Chaucer replied by quoting Shakspeare (with the same anachronism by which Shakspeare made Hector quote Aristotle): "The villany you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction."

So far we have proceeded, I think, by a sober and pedestrian method, following known facts step by step. We have resorted to no conjectures, but have candidly interpreted the obvious phenomena (as we purposed to do) in the light of reason and common sense and of the established customs of literary men in past and present. Let us sum up the results in the form of definite propositions.

1. The mere name *Lollius* is not a blunder or an invention; for it is a genuine Roman *nomen gentile*.

2. Chaucer found the name somewhere in the course of his reading, and, of course, it was in some context that he found it, not all alone by itself.

3. The context in which Chaucer found the name was such as to teach him (erroneously) that one Lollius wrote a book on the Trojan War.

4. Accordingly, in *The House of Fame*, Chaucer included Lollius in a list of authorities on the matter of Troy — along with Homer, Dictys, Dares, Guido delle Colonne, and Geoffrey of Monmouth.

5. In thus mentioning Lollius in *The House of Fame* Chaucer was not inventing: he was under a misapprehension. He believed that a work by Lollius on the Trojan War had once existed, but, since neither he nor any of his acquaintances had ever seen it, that it was lost.

6. When Chaucer wrote the *Troilus*, his erroneous belief that one Lollius had written a (lost) work on Troy had not been corrected.

7. Accordingly, in the *Troilus*, as a part of the fiction, Chaucer pretended to be translating faithfully the Latin work of Lollius. This



Lollius is not Boccaccio, nor Petrarch, nor Benoit, nor Guido: he is purely and simply Lollius — a supposed ancient writer on the subject, whose work Chaucer pretended to have before him. The fiction consists not in ascribing to Lollius a work on Troy (for that was merely an error) but in claiming to have this work in hand and to translate it faithfully.

8. Chaucer's fiction of pretending to follow Lollius in the *Troilus* was imitated and improved by him from Boccaccio's similar fiction in the *Teseide* and the *Filostrato*. The improvement consists in ascribing the work to a definitely named source instead of "an ancient history" or "a lost author recently discovered by me in turning over ancient books." In using the name of Lollius, Chaucer was citing an *author* in whose existence as a writer on Troy he fully believed, but whose book he thought had disappeared.

9. Chaucer, in accordance with the habits of his time, acknowledged no obligation to mention the actual sources from which he drew the material for his fictions. He felt quite at liberty to invent sources, or to give credit to authors different from those to whom he was actually indebted. In the practice of such devices, for artistic effect, for verisimilitude, or for lending dignity to his subject, he had Boccaccio himself as a distinguished exemplar. There is no moral question involved. The trick justifies itself if it is well worked. If both Chaucer and Boccaccio went farther in this way than a scrupulous modern would feel warranted in going, they had two valid defences, — first, the custom of mediaeval writers, and second, their general avowal of indebtedness to somebody, or, in other words, their disclaimer of originality.

10. Both Gower and Strode must have been aware that Chaucer derived the story of *Troilus* in large part from an Italian poem. The fiction of a reference to Lollius in the *Troilus* was known to some of Chaucer's contemporaries as a fiction, and hence to Lydgate a generation or so later. In other words, it was not a dark secret, carefully locked in the breast of an anxious plagiarist, but a more or less transparent literary device, as to which neither Chaucer nor his associates and followers saw any reason to keep silence in their conversation.

All these theses appear to be irrefutable, and in their light we are now ready to discuss certain interesting questions that have suggested

themselves to the curious minds of us moderns. These questions should be kept sharply distinct, however, from the theses just enumerated; for we are now venturing into the domain of conjecture. Our guesses may be more or less probable, but, right or wrong, they cannot affect the soundness of the most pregnant and unforced propositions already established.

First and foremost, did Chaucer originate the erroneous notion that one Lollius (a real name) wrote a (lost) history of the Trojan War or, at all events, a (lost) book of some kind on the matter of Troy?

*A priori* one would answer this question in the negative, most decidedly. It is seldom possible to discover the actual originator of anything — especially of a current error. Whatever might have led Chaucer to make this mistake would have been just as likely to lead somebody else to make it before him. The mere fact that Chaucer found the name Lollius, not all alone by itself, but in a context that somehow connected it with Troy, suggests as a distinct probability that some predecessor had similarly discovered it. Finally, the fact that Chaucer's learned friends Gower and Strode allowed his erroneous opinion, published in *The House of Fame*, to pass without challenge, and suffered him to utilize the error, uncorrected, as a part of the fiction in the *Troilus*, a poem dedicated to them and doubtless discussed with them in the process of composition — all this certainly suggests that they shared his error, and, therefore, that this was a matter of common misinformation among the learned in the latter part of the fourteenth century. However, the question whether Chaucer originated the error or merely adopted it, is a matter of no consequence. If one prefers to regard Chaucer as the initial mistaker, no harm can be done. I am far from wishing to exonerate the poet, for he was no *doctor irrefragibilis*. He did make blunders now and then.<sup>1</sup> So do we all. One mistake more or less counts for nothing in his record, or yours, or mine, in a puzzle-headed world.

The objection that we cannot find the statement anywhere before Chaucer should not daunt us until we discover the precise source from which he drew his information about Trophee,<sup>2</sup> about the Bret Glascurion, about Hermes Ballenus, about Elcanor, about Lymote,<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 80, below.

<sup>3</sup> *House of Fame*, 1208, 1273, 516, 1274.

<sup>2</sup> *Monk's Tale*, B 3307 (see p. 60, above).

so on. It makes no difference, logically, whether the information in these cases is correct or incorrect. The point is, that Chaucer derived it from some source that we cannot trace with assurance or cannot trace at all. In other words, he and his contemporaries had (as we sometimes forget) sources of information or misinformation which are either not accessible to us, having perished, or which our antiquaries have not yet unearthed.

Take the case of Hermes Ballenus. Here the reference to Ballenus has been traced to the *Roman de la Rose*,<sup>1</sup> but the French poem does not connect him with Hermes. Yet Chaucer's learning abides the touchstone. He has in mind a certain wise Belinous who found a book of scientific and magical secrets under a statue of Hermes. Where did Chaucer get this information? A question as yet unanswerable. Yet it may be answered any day. The solution may lurk unheeded in the margin of some manuscript of the *Roman*. So in the margin of some other manuscript of something or other was perhaps enshrined a gloss "Lollius maximus scriptor belli Troiani." We have not yet garnered all the sheaves of mediaeval lore, and when the sheaves are garnered, the gleanings will remain, and when all is gleaned, we shall still miss what has perished.

Another instructive example is that of Agathon. This person may have been known to Chaucer as a poet from Dante:

Euripide v'è nosco, ed Antifonte,  
Simonide, Agatone ed altri piùè  
Greci che già di lauro ornar la fronte;<sup>2</sup>

or perhaps from Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*:

Claudiano, Persio, ed Agatone.<sup>3</sup>

But from neither of these places could he have got the information that led him to associate Agathon with Alcestis and the daisy:

No wonder is that Iove hir stellifye,  
As telleth Agaton, for hir goodnesse.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 14601 Méon (Michel, II, 118). See Skeat on *House of Fame*, 1273.

<sup>2</sup> Purg. xxii, 106-108.

<sup>3</sup> v, 50 (MS. note by Child in his copy of Kissner, *Chaucer in seinen Beziehungen zur italienischen Literatur*, p. 9; Koepfel, *Anglia*, XIV, 237).

<sup>4</sup> *Legend of Good Women*, A 513-514 (B 525-526).



This may have been a chance shot, but one finds it hard to dodge the inference that he somehow knew of Agathon as associated with a flower or flowers; and for this point we are aware of no source that could have helped him except Aristotle's *Poetics*,<sup>1</sup> which he could not read.

We must leave the question undecided, then, whether Chaucer was the initial blunderer in the Lollian business. For convenience, we may speak of the error, in what follows, as Chaucer's, though probability seems to favor the idea that he was adopting some traditional mistake.

Chaucer is not the only fourteenth-century poet who puzzles us in this fashion. For example, I should much like to know where Froissart got his names in the pretty story of Architeles and Orphane,<sup>2</sup> which he credits to "a wise poet." Orphane, he says, was "serour *Dane*," i.e. "Diana's sister."<sup>3</sup> Now *Orphane* seems to be a corruption of *Automate*, who really was the wife of Architeles, and she was a daughter of *Danaus*. But Froissart could not read Pausanias.<sup>4</sup>

It is quite true that we cannot point to a particular place in which Chaucer could have found a citation of "*Lollius de Bello Troiano*." Still, we can easily exhibit sources from which he might have derived equally remarkable literary lore. We know where he might have found the story, on the authority of "*Philosophus ad Maximum*," that a committee of eminent Romans, representing various professions, decided that the god of Clemency was to be their chief deity.<sup>5</sup> We know where he could have found the statement that Seneca "in tragedia quadam" tells how Nero, in a vision, was seen in hell bathing in molten gold and inviting a crowd of lawyers ("*venale genus hominum*") to join him.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ix, p. 1451b 21 (Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1889, p. 763). Cf. Skeat, III, xxxii-xxxiv.

<sup>2</sup> *Joli Buisson*, 2102 ff. (Scheler, II, 62 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> 2111. Perhaps *Dane* means *Daphne* here, as in Froissart's *Espinette Amoureuse*, 1569 ff. (Scheler, I, 132-138,) and in his *Joli Buisson*, 3156 (II, 94), and in Chaucer; but *Dyane* is mentioned in *Buisson*, 2159, and Chaucer has to warn his readers not to confuse "Penneus doughter" with the goddess (*Knight's Tale*, A 2062-2064).

<sup>4</sup> vii, 1, 3. Cf. also his story of Narcissus (*Joli Buisson*, 3252 ff., Scheler, II, 96 ff.) with the *ἡσσαν γνώριμος* tale in Pausanias, ix, 31, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 109, § 24.

<sup>6</sup> Crane, *Jacques de Vitry*, pp. 14, 148; cf. Ward, *Catalogue*, III, 135, § 136.



And finally — not to multiply examples — we know where he could have found an account of the celebrated interview between Diogenes and Alexander credited to “Saturnus qui illustrium virorum scripsit hystorias.”<sup>1</sup> On the whole, then, it seems rather probable that the error which made Lollius an authority on Troy was not initially Chaucer’s — that he picked up the item somewhere among the miscellanea of the middle ages.

More interesting is the inquiry whether or not the error about Lollius (be it Chaucer’s or *Anon.*’s) sprang from a misunderstanding of a famous passage in Horace — the beginning of the second Epistle of the First Book:

Troiani belli scriptorem, maxime Lolli,  
Dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi.

This theory was long ago proposed by Latham,<sup>2</sup> and has met with considerable favor, though rejected with contumely in some quarters.

The *a priori* case for Latham’s hypothesis is uncommonly strong. For (1) the initial blunderer did not invent the name Lollius: it is a real name. He found it *somewhere*. (2) He did not invent the idea that Lollius was a writer on the Trojan War. He found that idea, as well as the name, *somewhere*. The chances are, of course, that he found both the name and the notion in the same place and at the same time; and the place must have been an accessible place. Horace’s epistle fulfills all the conditions, and fulfills them brilliantly.<sup>3</sup> Reluctance to accept Latham’s idea seems to arise from reluctance to accuse Chaucer, or anybody else, of so considerable a blunder. Still, some one must have blundered somehow sometime, — for without a blunder the belief that a Lollius wrote on the Trojan War could not have been entertained by Chaucer or his contemporaries, — and we shall see presently that to get the Horatian verses wrong was by no means difficult or discreditable.

<sup>1</sup> Ward, III, 119, § 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenaeum*, October 3, 1868, No. 2136, II, 433.

<sup>3</sup> Chaucer never mentions Horace by name, though he uses a few bits, doubtless picked up at secondhand. Several lines of this Epistle, however, including the first four verses, are quoted in John of Salisbury’s *Polycraticus*, vii, 9 (ed. Webb, II, 128), as Axon remarked (*Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, III, 224), and other lines occur elsewhere in the same treatise. Chaucer is thought to have known this work of John’s, though the question (I think) is still unsettled. Cf. Lowes, *Modern Language Notes*, XXV, 87–89. If Chaucer was not the initial blunderer, this point is of no consequence.

To accept Latham's conjecture does not carry the obligation to explain precisely how the error came about, — to select, in other words, that one among several possibilities that was actually the process into which the blunderer was betrayed. The more possibilities there were, the greater the chance that we have the right passage before us. Some of these possibilities we may now review, premising that *maxime*, as a mere superlative (not *Maxime* as a part of the name) must underlie all mediaeval ways of interpreting the passage, since the discovery that the *Maximus* was the surname of Horace's young friend is rather modern.

Ten Brink long ago conjectured that the text which caused the error had *scriptorum* for *scriptorem* and *te legi* for *relegi*.<sup>1</sup> Possible, no doubt, but by no means likely! Nor were two corruptions necessary. *Scriptorum* alone would have sufficed, for the passage would then have seemed to mean: "O Lollus, greatest of writers, on the Trojan War, while you have been declaiming [your poem] at Rome, I have read it over again at Praeneste." *Scriptor* for *scriptorem* would have had the same result.

So far we have tacitly assumed that *Praeneste* would have been immediately understood by a mediaeval reader as meaning "at Praeneste"; but that is a very large assumption indeed, — particularly when one remembers that Chaucer took *Via Appia* for the name of a town three miles from Rome on the strength of "*Vade igitur in tertium miliarium ab urbe via quae Appia nuncupatur*":

"Goth forth to *Via Appia*," quod she,  
 "That fro the toun ne stant but myles three."<sup>2</sup>

Proper names are ever and always a pitfall, and in the middle ages no reader, lay or cleric, could hope to keep his foot out of the snare. In estimating, therefore, the chances of misinterpretation, we should not forget the difficulties offered by the second verse. If our friend the initial blunderer had a good mediaeval text of these two lines, what he read was not nicely punctuated and decked out with enlightening capitals. It ran as follows:

Scriptorem belli troiani maxime lollu  
 dum tu declamas rome preenste relegi.

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer, *Studien*, 1870, p. 87

<sup>2</sup> *Second Nun's Tale*, G 172-173.

What was he to make out of *preneste*? Was it *preneste* or *preueste*? The former meant nothing to him, unless he happened to be an uncommonly good geographer. As for *preueste*, what was that? Could it be *pre ueste*? Hardly. An adverb, then? What adverb? And so he gives up *preneste* or *preueste* as a whole. But, since he would be eager to read what he could, and was constrained to let the rest go — as we all do in corrupt or unintelligible passages — he would have grasped at the *te* as presumably a pronoun, — and then he had “O greatest Lollius, I have read *you*, a writer on the Trojan War, over again, while you have been declaiming [your poem] at Rome.”

Or suppose some careless reader or excerptor ran together the heading of the epistle “Ad Lollium” or “Ad Lollium consularem” or “Ad Maximum Lollium” or “Ad Lollium Maximum”<sup>1</sup> with the initial words: — “Ad Lollium maximum scriptorem belli Troiani.” Less than that has often raised strange spirits from the mediaeval deep. That such a trick had in fact got itself played before Chaucer’s time is an ascertained fact, for in one twelfth-century manuscript of Horace the title of the poem is actually “Ad lollium scriptorem.”<sup>2</sup> This is Burney MS. 178 in the British Museum. The fact that the contents of the Epistle are in large part a compendium of Trojan matters must not be forgotten in weighing the chances that the Lollian error originated somehow from a misreading or misunderstanding of the opening lines.

Even if there were no more to be said, I think Latham’s hypothesis would be pretty well demonstrated as extremely probable, since, as already noted, every additional possibility increases the chance that he hit upon the right passage. Yet one must admit that the conjectures so far considered imply a further error in passing from the second line to what follows, since in verses 3 ff. Horace clearly speaks of the “writer on the Trojan War” *in the third person*. Let us see, therefore, what might have happened to some merely humanly fallible but not abnormally ignorant or careless reader (“even as you or I”) who had a correct text before him, who knew that *Praeneste* means at Pales-trina, and who recognized “scriptorem belli Troiani” as Homer.

Scriptorem belli Troiani, maxime Lolli,  
Dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi.

<sup>1</sup> All these headings occur in manuscripts.

<sup>2</sup> Hauthal’s Acron, II, 374, note. I have had the heading verified at the Museum.



From this passage our hypothetical reader would have gathered that the Lollius addressed was a person of great importance, — for he could not have known that *Maxime* is a proper name here. Further, as many readers still do, he would inevitably have taken *scriptorem* as the object as well of *declamas* as of *relegi*, and so would have arrived at the opinion that the person addressed was engaged in reciting at Rome some version of Homer — presumably, since he was at Rome, a Latin version, doubtless of his own composition. Thus the passage, though correctly written and in the main correctly translated, would have seemed to him to bear the clear meaning that there once was a Roman, in ancient times, who composed and recited at Rome a Latin poem, of much importance and dignity, founded on Homer, and relating the main events in the Trojan War, with which, be it remembered, a large part of what follows in the Epistle is concerned.

“*Lollius maximus poeta et amicus Horatii Romae declamabat versus de bello Troiano*” would, I think, be a fit summary of such an observation; and nothing more would be wanted to make current the item of misinformation which Chaucer picked up somewhere and utilized for his own purposes. I am not asserting that this is precisely the way in which the Lollian error sprang from the Horatian passage: my point is merely that this in one possible way — and that it required no error in text or enormous blundering in translation. Or suppose some one referred, quite correctly, to “*Horatius ad Lollium de Bello Troiano*.” Such a reference might easily have given rise to “*Lollius de bello Troiano*” — and again the trick is done.

Anything that may have tended to associate the name of Lollius with the Trojan War is pertinent in this inquiry. We may note, therefore, that the Ninth Ode of Horace's Fourth Book is dedicated to a Lollius, whom the middle ages could hardly be expected to distinguish sharply from him of the Epistle, and that much of the ode, like much of the Epistle, is devoted to Homer and the matter of Troy. It is humbly submitted that if a mediaeval scholar read this ode and the Epistle, and inferred therefrom that Lollius wrote something on Troy, the error was not so surprising as that of Speght when he dug out Lollius Urbicus from the Augustan History, turned him into a Lollius of Urbino, and — though he was expressly declared to have



written a history "sui temporis" — cheerfully equated him with the alleged source of Chaucer's *Troilus*.<sup>1</sup>

Again, suppose the following scholium of the pseudo-Acron on the ode got separated from the text:

Ad Marcum Lollium scribit consularem adfirmans immortalia futura scripta sua, quamuis ante eum sint alii meliores poetae; nam nec Homeri magnitudinem obstare quominus Pindarus et alii poetae, qui post eum orti sunt, clari essent.<sup>2</sup>

A careless reader might easily have taken *sua* to refer to Lollius, not *Horace*,<sup>3</sup> and so Lollius' reputation as a poet of importance, though inferior to Homer, might have become a current fact of mediaeval information. The mention of Homer would have been enough to prompt the further inference that Lollius too had busied himself with the tale of Troy. The name of Pindar would have helped rather than hindered, for, as we know, "Pindarus" passed in the middle ages as a Latin poet who had translated Homer — as the author, in short, of the extant *Ilias Latina*.<sup>4</sup>

Until some positive evidence turns up, I think we may take it as pretty well established that the Epistle of Horace, assisted perhaps by the ode or the scholium or by both, is the authority for the mediaeval notion that one Lollius was a writer of importance on the Trojan War.

In order to test the reasonableness of the opinion that Chaucer or some predecessor was capable of misunderstanding Horace's lines in the manner suggested by Latham, we could cite other errors of the poet's, fit to range with that already quoted about the Appian Way.<sup>5</sup> "Partriches winges" on Fame's feet, from Virgil's "pedibus celerem et pernibus alis," will serve for one.<sup>6</sup> The error about Plato (for Solomon) and "his book Senior;"<sup>7</sup> Brutus and Cassius run together

<sup>1</sup> See p. 83, below.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Hauthal, I, 412 (cf. 415); ed. Keller, I, 355.

<sup>3</sup> The heading of the ode — "Ad Lollium de immortalitate carminum suorum" — may have helped to mislead.

<sup>4</sup> See, for summary information, Bährens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, III (1881), 4-5. I do not see why the attachment of Pindar's name to this text in the middle ages may not have come from a misunderstanding of this same gloss.

<sup>5</sup> P. 77, above.

<sup>6</sup> *House of Fame*, 1391-1392.

<sup>7</sup> *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, G 1448 ff.

into one name, so that "Brutus Cassius" becomes the ringleader in the conspiracy against Caesar,<sup>1</sup> and, *per contra*, Ascanius and Iulus made into two distinct persons;<sup>2</sup> Busiris confused with Diomedes of Thrace;<sup>3</sup> Titan identified with Tithonus;<sup>4</sup> Corus (or Thorus) as a seagod;<sup>5</sup> Marcia (Marsyas) losing *her* skin;<sup>6</sup> "Persi regis" translated by "the king of Perciens"<sup>7</sup> — these and many other venial sins, familiar to every student, may suffice to assure us that Chaucer was not superior to human frailty.<sup>8</sup>

And we all know that even professional scholars in the middle ages were quite unable, from the circumstances in which they worked, to avoid what seem to us astounding blunders. Examples are hardly called for, but one set may be entertaining. Walter Burley, who died about the time of Chaucer's birth, was a man of real learning who enjoyed the title of "doctor planus et perspicuus." He taught philosophy at Oxford, and is said to have been for a time the tutor of Edward III,

<sup>1</sup> *Monk's Tale*, B 3887 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *House of Fame*, 177-178. This may be real learning, however (see Roscher, s. v. *Iulus*).

<sup>3</sup> *Monk's Tale*, B 3293-3294. See Shannon, *Modern Philology*, XI, 227-229.

<sup>4</sup> *Troilus*, iii, 1464-1470 (see p. 116, below).

<sup>5</sup> *Legend of Good Women*, 2422.

<sup>6</sup> *House of Fame*, 1229 ff. Chaucer never could have understood Dante's cryptic utterance "quando Marsia traesti Della vagina delle membra sue" (*Par.*, i, 20-21) unless he had known the story, and Ovid (*Met.*, vi, 383 [*satyri*], 384 [*quem*], and 392 [*illum*]) makes the gender clear. Cf. *Teseide*, xi, 62: "Nel quale si vedea Marsia sonando, Sè con Apollo nel sonar provando."

<sup>7</sup> *Boethius*, bk. ii, prose 2, l. 47 (Skeat).

<sup>8</sup> As illustrations of the errors which a poet might make in the fourteenth century, even in treating of commonplace matters, the following examples would be enlightening, if light were really needed. Froissart makes it Proserpine for whom Orpheus went to Hades: she could not return with him because she had eaten (*Joli Buisson*, 3164-3191, Scheler, II, 94-95). In *Le Trésor Amoureux*, wrongly ascribed to Froissart, Adonis is the son of Venus and pursues Atalanta (1719 ff., Scheler, III, 190 ff.). Froissart's Enclimpostair, son of Morpheus (*Paradys d'Amour*, 28, Scheler, I, 2), has become famous through Chaucer's adoption (*Book of the Duchess*, 167; cf. *Englische Studien*, XXVI, 321 ff.). In *L'Orloge Amoureux* Tubulus (apparently Tibullus) is said to have died for love: "Ce fu pour lui une honnorable fin" (1120-1130, Scheler, I, 85). In the *Joli Buisson* Narcissus dies for love of Echo, whose face he thinks he sees in the fountain (3252 ff., Scheler, II, 96 ff.), and Cepheus is killed by falling from a tree which he had climbed to see if Hero was coming (3216 ff., II, 95-96).

and later of the Black Prince. He certainly enjoyed the royal favor. One of his most popular books — probably compiled as a university manual — was the *Liber de Vita et Moribus Philosophorum Poetarum-que Veterum*. Dr. Knust, who has edited this work, gives an amusing list of some of the curious mistakes that it contains. Burley confuses Epaminondas with Epimenides, Isocrates with Socrates, Xenophanes with Xenophon, Agesilaus with Arcesilaus, Africanus major with Africanus minor, Cato of the *Distichs* and Cato the Censor with Cato Uticensis, Publius (i.e. Publilius) Syrus with Publius Terentius, Pliny the Elder with Pliny the Younger.<sup>1</sup> In his chapter on Horace, he tells how “Oracius Flaccus poeta illustris,” when he was *pontifex maximus* and was dedicating a temple to Jupiter, received the news of his son’s death, but did not allow it to disturb him in the sacred ceremony — an anecdote which should stand to the credit of Horatius Pulvillus.<sup>2</sup> Titus Livius appears in Burley’s pages as “historiographus et tragediarum scriptor,” by confusion, of course, with Livius Andronicus.<sup>3</sup>

We can come nearer home, however. Somebody in the middle ages blundered about Lollius somehow: that is beyond dispute. Is it incredible that the blunder should have come from the Horatian passage? Let us test the question again — this time by reviewing some of the mistakes that modern scholars have made in discussing the Lollian problem itself.

In the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* two distinct persons named Lollius Urbicus are mentioned, — one a magistrate and general of the second century of our era,<sup>4</sup> the other an historian of the third.<sup>5</sup>

The first of these was a man of mark in his day, and we have a good deal of documentary evidence about him.<sup>6</sup> He was *legatus* in Britain in the reign of Antonius Pius;<sup>7</sup> he is mentioned by Fronto<sup>8</sup> and Apuleius<sup>9</sup> as a contemporary; and there are at least six inscriptions

<sup>1</sup> *Gualteri Burlaei Liber de Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*, pp. 400-401.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. 110, ed. Knust, p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. 88, p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> *Antoninus Pius*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Antoninus Diadumenus*, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Von Rohden and Dessau, *Prosopographia*, II, 297.

<sup>7</sup> “[Antoninus] per legatos suos plurima bella gessit, nam et Brittanos per Lollium Urbicum vicit legatum alio muro caespiticio summotis barbaris ducto,” etc. (*Ant. Pius*, 5).

<sup>8</sup> *Ad Amicos*, ii, 7.

<sup>9</sup> *De Magia*, 2.



that concern him, — two Roman,<sup>1</sup> two British,<sup>2</sup> and two African.<sup>3</sup> One of these, which relates to the *vallum* of Antoninus (Graham's Dyke), has long been familiar to archaeologists, and was discussed by the admirable Horseley in 1732.<sup>4</sup>

The second Lollius Urbicus is known only from a single passage in the *Life of Diadumenus* ascribed to Lampridius, which, however, suffices to prove that he lived in the reigns of Macrinus and Heliogabalus, and that he wrote a "history of his own time."<sup>5</sup> This personage was introduced into English literary history, as Chaucer's Lollius, by Speght, who, in the Folio of 1598, included him in the list of authors appended to his Glossary as "*Lollius*, an Italian Historiographer, borne in the citie of Urbino."<sup>6</sup> *Urbicus*, to be sure, is a derivative of *urbs*, and is not a synonym for *Urbinas*, "of Urbino," but that made no difference: Speght's error became current. Dr. Timothy Thomas, in 1721, added some learned material to Speght's note, and, having consulted the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, included Lollius in the list of authors appended to the Glossary to Urry's Chaucer as "an Italian Historiographer born at *Urbino*, who lived under the Emperors *Macrinus* and *Heliogabalus*, in the beginning of the Third Century," remarking that he "is said to have written the History of his own Time, and also the Life of the Emperor *Diadumenus* the Son of *Macrinus*."<sup>7</sup> This note not only repeats Speght's mis-translation of *Urbicus* (as if it were *Urbinas*), but involves a wrong inference from the words of Lampridius. Lollius Urbicus *did* write a "History of his Own Time," which Lampridius cites for certain details about Diadumenus, but there is no foundation for the statement that he *also* wrote a biography of that boy-emperor; whatever he had to

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* VI, i, 6 (No. 28); VI, ii, 1410 (No. 10707).

<sup>2</sup> Hübner, *C.I.L.*, VII, 180, 201, Nos. 1041, 1125.

<sup>3</sup> Wilmanns, *C.I.L.*, VIII, i, 607, Nos. 6705, 6706.

<sup>4</sup> *Britannia Romana*, pp. 197-198 (cf. pp. 50, 51). This is Hübner's No. 1125.

<sup>5</sup> The author of the *Life* cites Lollius Urbicus for details about the murder of Diadumenus given "in historia sui temporis." This murder took place A.D. 218.

<sup>6</sup> Sig. Bbbb. ii, v<sup>o</sup> (ed. 1602, sig. Uuu, iii, leaf 4, v<sup>o</sup>; ed. 1687, sig. Ssss, v<sup>o</sup>).

<sup>7</sup> *A short Account of some of the Authors cited by Chaucer*, appended to the Glossary in Urry's Chaucer, 1721, p. 80. Perhaps Dr. Thomas went, not to the *Scriptores*, but to Gerard Vossius, *De Historicis Latinis*, bk. ii, ch. 2 (2d ed., 1651, p. 176), whose account of Lollius, however, is accurate.



say on the subject was obviously contained in this same *Historia sui Temporis*.

Warton, in 1774, remarked that Chaucer's *Troilus* "is said to be formed on an old history, written by Lollius, a native of Urbino."<sup>1</sup> But it does not appear that he accepted *Urbicus* and *Urbinas* as synonymous. At all events, he expressly states that "Lollius Urbicus," the historian of the third century, "could not be Chaucer's Lollius."<sup>2</sup> He makes an odd mistake, however, when he says: "It is extraordinary, that Du Fresne, in the *Index Auctorum*, used by him for his Latin glossary, should mention this Lollius Urbicus of the third century," none of whose works, as Warton "apprehends," remain.<sup>2</sup> It would indeed be extraordinary if Du Cange had pretended to use this lost author. The truth is, he does nothing of the kind. His *Index Auctorum*, as he states expressly, is meant to include all the writers "inferioris Latinitatis" that he knew of, both those whom he used in his *Glossarium* and those whom he did not;<sup>3</sup> and the way in which he mentions Lollius Urbicus<sup>4</sup> makes it quite clear that he had no knowledge of that historian except what was afforded by the passage of Lampridius already mentioned.<sup>5</sup> Another strange remark of Warton's is the assertion that "Boccac[c]io himself, in the *DECAMERON*, mentions the story of Troilus and Cressida in Greek verse";<sup>6</sup> which, adds Warton, "I suppose had been translated by some of the fugitive Greeks with whom he was connected, from a romance on that subject." I venture to suggest that this remark is quite as extraordinary—all circumstances considered—as Chaucer's erroneous registration of Lollius as an historian of the Trojan War.

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Poetry*, 1774, § 14, I, 384.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, note a.

<sup>3</sup> "Caeteros illaudatos inferioris Latinitatis Scriptoribus laudatis adjungendos" (*Glossarium*, ed. 1681, cols. 78-79).

<sup>4</sup> "Lollius Urbicus, Historicus, vix. sub Macrino and Heliogabalo. Vide Vossium" (col. 129). Gerard Vossius, *De Historicis Latinis*, ii, 2 (2d ed., 1651, p. 176), refers to Lampridius as our only source of knowledge on this writer.

<sup>5</sup> It is only fair to say that Warton contributes some really valuable information about the *Troilus* material.

<sup>6</sup> I, 351 (cf. 384). See *Decameron*, 6th day, introduction: "E Dioneo insieme con Lauretta di Trojolo e di Criseida cominciarono a cantare." That is all. Cf. Warton's *Emendations and Additions* to Vol. I, p. 385 (in Vol. II); Wilkins, *Boccaccio Studies*, p. 52.

From Speght's and Dr. Thomas's assertion and Warton's hesitating remarks, the supposed Lollius of Urbino (who owes his existence solely to Speght's misunderstanding of the adjective *Urbicus*), became almost inseparably attached to Chaucer. The eminent Heyne, the philological dictator of Germany in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, actually translated the name "Lollius of Urbino" into Latin, oblivious of the fact that it was a mere blunder, and asserted, in his famous edition of Virgil, that Chaucer derived his *Troilus* from "Lollius Urbinas et Guido de Colonna."<sup>1</sup>

Joly, in referring to this error of Heyne's, makes a mistake of his own, for he says: — "Il est, par ce passage même, évident que Heyne ne parle de Lollius que sur l'autorité de Chaucer."<sup>2</sup> Certainly Heyne did not derive his *Urbinas* from Chaucer, who does not associate Lollius with that city or with any city — except Troy! One suspects that Joly took *Urbicus* as a synonym of *Urbinas* anyhow, for, in connection with his quotation from Heyne, he remarks that Schoell mentions the non-existent "Lollius d'Urbain" as a real author. Now the fact is that Schoell knows nothing of any Lollius of Urbino. His entry concerns only the historian Lollius Urbicus and is perfectly sober and accurate: "Lollius Urbicus, auteur d'un histoire de son temps, c'est-à-dire de celui de Macrin et d'Eliogabale."<sup>3</sup>

A recent Romance scholar of repute, Marcus Landau, in an attempt to correct some of the old errors, has embroiled the whole subject afresh. According to Landau, "Dryden confused [Chaucer's] Lollius with Lollius Urbicus, the author of a lost work on the Emperor Severus, and made out of him a Lollius of Urbino, who according to him, was Chaucer's and Shakspeare's source."<sup>4</sup> Now what Dryden wrote in the

<sup>1</sup> "Obseruabimus tandem recentiorum quoque fabularum factum esse Troilum argumentum, Lollii quidem Vrbinatis et Guidonis de Colonna. Vnde Chaucer duxit suum Troilum et Cressida" (Excursus xvii on *Aeneid* i). This passage does not occur in the first edition (1771, II, 127-128) or the second (1787, II, 160-161), but makes its first appearance in the third (Leipzig, 1800, II, 212; 1803, II, 178). It is also found in the fourth edition (Wagner's), 1832, II, 250, and in Lemaire's edition, 1819, II, 203. The London "third edition" (1793), II, 155-156 does not contain it.

<sup>2</sup> *Benott-de Sainte-More*, I, 217, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Histoire abrégée de la littérature romaine*, Paris, 1815, III, 146.

<sup>4</sup> "Chaucer also, der ebenfalls ein Epos von Troilus und Cressida geschrieben, gibt es für die Uebersetzung des lateinischen Werks eines gewissen Lollius aus.

preface to his own *Troilus and Cressida* (1679), is bad enough, but it does not accord with Landau's account. "The Original story," says Dryden, "was Written by one *Lollius*, a *Lombard*, in Latin verse, and Translated by *Chaucer* into English: intended I suppose a Satyr on the Inconstancy of Women: I find nothing of it among the Ancients; not so much as the name once *Cressida* mention'd. Shakspear, . . . in the Apprenticeship of his Writing, model'd it into that Play, which is now call'd by the name of *Troilus and Cressida*." Certainly it cannot be alleged that Dryden made a Lollius of Urbino out of Lollius Urbicus. He says not a word about Lollius *Urbicus*, and does not mention Urbino, but declares that Chaucer's Lollius was a Lombard — and Urbino (as I suppose Landau knew) is not in Lombardy. Dryden's information might all have been derived from Chaucer's *Troilus* itself except the statement that Lollius was a Lombard. This he doubtless inferred from Speght's *Life of Geoffrey Chaucer* in the folio of 1598, where we read: "*Troilus and Creseid* called *Throphe* in the Lumbard tongue, translated: not *verbatim*, but the Argument thence taken, and most cunningly amplified by Chaucer."<sup>1</sup> Speght's language, indeed, is echoed by Dryden in the Preface to his *Fables* (1700), when he remarks that "*Troilus and Cressida* was written by a *Lombard* Author; but much amplified by our *English* Translatour, as well as beautified."<sup>2</sup> In the folio Chaucer of 1602 Speght's note appears in the following form: "*Troilus and Creseid* called *Throphe* in the Lumbard tongue, was translated out of Latin, as in the preface to the second booke of *Troilus and Creseid* he confesseth in these wordes:

"To euery loue I me excuse,  
That of no sentiment I this endite,  
But out of Latin in my tonge it write."<sup>3</sup>

Miss Hammond<sup>4</sup> also seriously mistakes Dryden. She writes: "Dryden, in the preface to his '*Troilus and Cressida*,' said that 'the

Diesen sonst unbekannten Lollius verwechselte Dryden mit Lollius Urbicus, dem Verfasser eines verloren gegangenen Werks über Kaiser Severus und machte aus ihm einen Lollius aus Urbino, der Chaucers und Shakespeare's Quelle gewesen sein sollte" (Landau, *Giovanni Boccaccio*, 1877, pp. 91-92).

<sup>1</sup> Sig. c, i, r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Sig. B.

<sup>3</sup> Sig. c. j. v<sup>o</sup> (so also in the folio of 1687, sig. b v<sup>o</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual*, 1908, p. 95. I take occasion once more to express my sense of the high value of this indispensable book.



original story was written by one Lollius, in Lombard verse," whereas Dryden says distinctly, "by one Lollius, a Lombard, in Latin verse." "This he derived, it is probable," she adds, "from the note in Speght's glossary — 'Lollius, an Italian Historiographer borne in the citie of Urbine.'" As to this we note (1) that this remark is not in Speght's Glossary, but in the list of authors appended to his glossary, and (2) that Speght's note does not say that Lollius wrote in Lombard verse; — does not, indeed, mention Lombardy at all.

Miss Hammond also makes several mistakes in her account of Lollius Urbicus the historian cited in the *Life of Diadumenus* in the so-called Augustan History. In the first place, she says that this life was "written about 400 A.D." But soon after she remarks that the Augustan History "was written during the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine," that is, A.D. 284-337. Perhaps, then, 400 is a misprint for 300. Further, she remarks that, "as the Augustan History was written during the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, Lollius has been considered as of the third century." This, however, is *not* the reason for so dating him. The reason is that the language of the *Life of Diadumenus* (no matter when the Augustan History was written) implies beyond the possibility of misapprehension that this Lollius was living at the time of the murder of Diadumenus, which took place in 218.

But this is not all. Professor Lounsbury, in giving an account of the Lollius legend, makes a mistake of his own. He says that the Lollius Urbicus who is mentioned by Capitolinus as conquering the Britons in the reign of Antoninus Pius and the Lollius Urbicus who is cited by Lampridius as having written a history of his own times, are "presumably the same man," ignoring the fact that they lived in different centuries, and adds that "nothing has ever been heard of him or it beyond these two brief references."<sup>1</sup> Yet, as we have seen, much has been heard of the elder Lollius Urbicus besides the reference to him in the so-called Capitolinus. Further, Lounsbury appears to accept "of Urbino" as a good translation of the adjective *Urbicus*. It would be hard to find a more striking example of the way in which bits of information and misinformation combined get adrift in the learned world.

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 405-406.



The supposition that Chaucer blundered in reading Horace "involves," says Lounsbury, "the . . . assumption that a man who was sufficiently familiar with Latin to translate with reasonable accuracy a philosophical work, written in that tongue, was capable of confusing in an easy sentence forms so widely distinct as those of the genitive and the vocative case."<sup>1</sup> This statement involves a curious oversight. If Chaucer identified *Lolli* in Horace's line with *scriptorem*, what he confused was certainly not the genitive and the vocative, — and anyhow, the genitive and the vocative of *Lollius* are not "widely distinct" forms. Hamilton makes a different mistake about cases when he defines Lounsbury's "main premise" as the proposition that Chaucer "would not have made the slip of mistaking a genitive for an ablative."<sup>2</sup> No ablative or genitive is involved in the question.

May we not argue that these errors of Lounsbury and Hamilton are quite as unlikely to have been committed by those scholars as the error suggested by Latham was unlikely to have been committed by Chaucer or some forerunner?

Even Dr. Latham's note, which is printed a plain type in a modern journal,<sup>3</sup> has been more than once unintentionally misrepresented, as if he thought Chaucer were the initial blunderer. What he suggests, on the contrary, is clearly that the mistake had been previously made by somebody unknown, and that "by the time of Chaucer" *Lollius* had come to be regarded, on the basis of that blunder, as a writer on the Trojan War.<sup>4</sup> It is rather odd that Rossetti himself, in 1873, appears to make this mistake with regard to Latham,<sup>5</sup> though Latham's letter to the *Athenaeum* was written in reply to a theory of Rossetti's published in the immediately preceding number of this journal,<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Chaucer*, II, 409-410.

<sup>2</sup> *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde to Guido delle Colonne's Historia Trojana*, p. 40, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Athenaeum*, No. 2136, Oct. 3, 1868, II, 433.

<sup>4</sup> "My own view, and that I believe of others, is . . . that by the time of Chaucer the name of the person there addressed had become attached to the person written about."

<sup>5</sup> "It appears to me that the most reasonable . . . suggestion is that made . . . by Dr. R. G. Latham — that Chaucer has, by some blunder or confusion, got the name *Lollius* out of Horace's line" (*Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde compared with Boccaccio's Filostrato*, 1873, p. vii).

<sup>6</sup> *Athenaeum*, No. 2135, Sept. 26, 1868.

though Rossetti followed Latham in the very next number<sup>1</sup> with a communication accepting the doctor's theory and abandoning his own. Miss Hammond is under the same misapprehension.<sup>2</sup> She adds the remark: "Note that already Bradshaw (see Prothero's Memoir, p. 216) had made the same suggestion as did Latham." But the passage in Prothero records no such suggestion.

We may conclude with a blunder by another distinguished scholar, pertinent here, because its perpetrator is accepting Latham's conjecture. "*La invenzione del nome Lollio Urbico fu suggerita al Chaucer probabilmente,*" writes Hortis, "*dall' ode oraziana: Trojani belli scriptorem maxime Lolli etc.*"<sup>3</sup> As to this there are four observations to make: — (1) Chaucer does not speak of *Lollius Urbicus*; (2) if he did, he would not be inventing the name, for it is a real name, borne by at least two historical personages; (3) *Lollius Urbicus* could not be invented by anybody on the basis of the Horatian line; (4) Horace's epistle is not an ode.

I have not undertaken to catalogue the errors of scholars with regard to the *Troilus* and its sources, but simply to select, from the mass of familiar material,<sup>4</sup> a number of mistakes about *Lollius* — not mere instances of poor judgment, or of wild theorizing on moot points, but plain honest homespun errors about matters of fact. The point is, of course, that these blunders have been made — *and made about Lollius* — not by persons who, in the days of manuscripts, were casually acquiring miscellaneous information, or groping about in their memories for things once seen but now beyond the scope of verification, but by modern specialists engaged in studying the Lollian problem with printed texts and printed books of reference at their elbows.

My brief review has been undertaken in a spirit of humility, not of censoriousness. Indeed, the very name of *Lollius* seems to have acted as a spell. A deceptive glamour attends it. Hardly anybody has approached the charmed circle without losing his way and wandering about, pixy-led, mistaking bushes for bears. I can claim no exemption

<sup>1</sup> No. 2137, Oct. 10, 1868, II, 465.

<sup>2</sup> P. 96.

<sup>3</sup> *Studj sulle Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 581, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See the summaries of Hamilton (*The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Troilus and Creseyde to Guido delle Colonne's Historia Trojana*, 1903, pp. 1-50) and Miss Hammond (*Chaucer: a Bibliographical Manual*, 1908, pp. 94 ff., etc.).

from the ban, and feel little doubt that I have blundered somewhere. Several bad mistakes, indeed, I have already cut out of my manuscript. Others, I trust, remain to help in establishing the proposition that I am endeavoring to prove — to wit, the proposition that a mediaeval error in dealing with the Horatian passage is very probable.

A hitherto unnoted source from which, by easy processes of error and confusion — such as were inevitable in the middle ages — the name of Lollius Maximus may have got abroad as that of an authority on ancient history (or the name of Lollius as that of a *very great* authority on the same), is the account given of Damophilus in Suidas' lexicon. Among the works of this "philosopher and sophist" are mentioned, Φιλόβιβλος, πρῶτος περὶ ἀξιοκτῆτων βιβλίων, πρὸς Λόλλιον Μάξιμον, Περὶ βίου ἀρχαίων· καὶ ἕτερα πάμπολλα.<sup>1</sup> From this it appears that Damophilus was credited (1) with a work entitled Φιλόβιβλος addressed or dedicated to Lollius Maximus, and (2) with another work "On the Life of the Ancients." Now it would not have been a matter of much difficulty for the words Λόλλιον Μάξιμον περὶ βίου ἀρχαίων to get shuffled together in somebody's mind, with the result that Lollius came to be regarded as a writer on the life of the ancients, or even as a biographer of the men of old.<sup>2</sup> This is suggested merely as something possible enough. Damophilus, the Bithynian, is cited as a curious antiquary by Julian,<sup>3</sup> and there may have been accounts of him in Latin as well as in Greek.

In conclusion, let us not forget that there was once a Lollius who did treat of the Trojan War at least twice, though in the briefest fashion. This was Lollius Bassus, of the first century of our era. His epigrams on this subject are worth quoting. The first is a compliment to Rome:

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, s. v. Δαμόφιλος, I, 1169-1170, Bernhardt.

<sup>2</sup> A part of this error has certainly been perpetrated by Philip Smith. In Smith's Dictionary, I, 937, he speaks of this work of Damophilus as "On the Lives of the Ancients (περὶ βίων ἀρχαίων)."

<sup>3</sup> *Misopogon*, p. 358 C. Suidas says of Damophilus, ὃν ἀνεθρέψατο Ἰουλιανός. This is thought to be P. Salvius Julianus, consul A. D. 175 (von Rohden and Des-sau, *Prosopographia*, III, 166). Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa says that "Damo-philos . . . war nach Suidas Pflegesohn des M. Salvius Iulianus" — a remark in which he certainly goes beyond his text. But nobody can touch Lollius, even secondarily, without suffering for it.



\* Ἀρρηκτοὶ Μοιρῶν πυμάτην ἐσφράγισαν ὄρκοι  
 τῷ Φρυγὶ πὰρ βωμῷ τὴν Πριάμου θυσίην.  
 Ἄλλὰ σοὶ, Αἰνεία, στόλος ἱερὸς Ἴταλὸν ἤδη  
 ὄρμον ἔχει, πάτρης φροῖμιον οὐρανίης.  
 Ἐς καλὸν ὤλετο πύργος ὁ Τρώϊος· ἦ γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις  
 ἡγέρθη κόσμος παντὸς ἀνασσα πόλις.<sup>1</sup>

The second might almost be called a warning against the hidden rocks and reefs of the Lollian controversy:

Οὐλόμεναι νήεσσι Καφηρίδες, αἶ ποτε νόστον  
 ὠλέσαθ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ στόλον Ἰλιόθεν,  
 πυρσὸς ὅτε ψεύστας χθονίης δνοφερώτερα νυκτὸς  
 ἦψε σέλα, τυφλὴ δ' ἔδραμε πᾶσα τρόπις  
 χοιράδας ἐς πέτρας, Δαναοῖς πάλιν Ἴλιος ἄλλη  
 ἔπλετο, καὶ δεκέτους ἐχθροτέρη πολέμου.  
 Καὶ τὴν μὲν τότε ἔπερσαν· ἀνίκητος δὲ Καφηρεὺς,  
 Ναύπλιε· σοὶ γὰρ πᾶν Ἑλλὰς ἔκλαυσε δάκρυ.<sup>2</sup>

Let nobody accuse me of maintaining that Chaucer's *Lollius* has anything to do with *Lollius Bassus* — or that Chaucer was a student of the *Anthology* — or even that the pretty epigram of *Agathias* on the swallows<sup>3</sup> is the source of certain stanzas of similar tenor in the *Troilus*.<sup>4</sup> Yet, after all, such theories on my part would but add one more to the long list of shipwrecks on this fatal cliff!

<sup>1</sup> *Anth. Pal.*, ix, 236 (Dübner, II, 46-47).

<sup>2</sup> *Anth. Pal.*, ix, 289 (Dübner, II, 58).

<sup>3</sup> v, 237.

<sup>4</sup> ii, 57-70.



## APPENDIX I

## ON CHAUCER'S REFERENCES TO HIS SOURCES IN THE TROILUS

In the early part of my paper I made the following postulate: "Chaucer takes quite particular pains to convey the impression that his *Troilus*, from beginning to end, is a faithful translation from the Latin work of Lollius, without any material additions either from other sources or from his own pen" (p. 54); and I promised to prove this proposition in an appendix. I regret the necessity, but am not to blame for it. The case is as clear as Chaucer could make it, but can only be established by going through the poem in the order in which it is written; for the evidence is cumulative, and the effect of any single mention of Lollius or "myn auctor," or of any single allusion to him, may extend far beyond the immediate context.

The following table gives a list of all the references or allusions to a source, along with four or five passages that have no significance but are included for the sake of completeness.

i, 132-133.	iii, 1576.
i, 141-147.	iii, 1774-1775.
i, 159-161.	iii, 1811-iv, 21 (iii, 1817; iv, 18-21).
i, 393-399 (394).	iv, 36-42.
i, 492-497 (495).	iv, 799-805.
ii, 8-49 (13-14, 18, 49).	iv, 1415-1421.
ii, 100-108.	v, 15-21 (19).
ii, 699-700.	v, 799-840 (799, 804, 816, 834).
ii, 1219-1220.	v, 848.
ii, 1564-1568.	v, 946.
ii, 1595-1596.	v, 1009.
ii, 1700-1701.	v, 1032.
iii, 39-49 (cf. ii, 13-14 with iii, 43-44).	v, 1037-1085 (1037, 1044, 1050, 1051).
iii, 90-91.	v, 1086-1099.
iii, 442-455.	v, 1459.
iii, 470.	v, 1478-1484.
iii, 491-504 (502-503)	v, 1562-1565.
iii, 575-581.	v, 1646-1666 (1651, 1653).
iii, 967-973.	v, 1751-1771 (1753, 1758).
iii, 1193-1199 (1196, 1199).	v, 1776.
iii, 1321-1330.	v, 1803-1804.
iii, 1369-1372.	v, 1854-1855.
iii, 1429.	

"Myn auctor" is certainly "Lollius." On that point no doubt is possible nor does there seem to be any disposition to deny so plain a proposition. Whatever may be said of vaguer attributions (like "as I rede" or "written as I fynde" or "olde bokes"), Lollius and *myn auctor* are always one and the same person in Chaucer's poem.

"Myn auctor, called Lollius" is first cited in i, 394, and the detail credited to him is certainly to be found in the *Filostrato*<sup>1</sup> — namely, the general purport of Troilus' song in contradistinction to the *ip-sissima verba*, which Chaucer pretends to substitute. We note that this passage not only registers Lollius distinctly and definitely as the source of the *Troilus*, but also tends to create the expectation that whenever Chaucer departs from that source, he will give notice, as here, particularly in case he inserts anything. This impression is strengthened as the poem goes on, and therefore the point need not now be pressed. It is enough for the present to recognize that Chaucer here sets up Lollius as his *auctor* and leaves upon our minds the general impression that he purposes to follow him with conscientious fidelity.

But, though this is the first mention of Lollius in the poem, it is not the first place where a particular source is indicated; for when Chaucer refers to "reading," as he does in i, 133 and 159, he is in effect referring to his *auctor*, whose name is soon to be given (in 394). These two passages should not be neglected, and with them must be considered certain intervening lines (141-147) that distinguish the *auctor* Chaucer means to follow (as yet unnamed) from those widely known writers on general Trojan history — Homer and Dictys and Dares. Even before he names Lollius, then, Chaucer has led us to believe that in narrating "the double sorrow of Troilus" he is following a particular *auctor*, and he has revealed to us the contents of that *auctor's* work in two particulars:

(1) But whether that she children hadde or noon,  
I rede it nought; therfore I lete it goon (i, 132-133).

(2) In sondry wises shewed, as I rede,  
The folk of Troye hir observaunces olde,  
Palladiones feste for to holde (i, 159-161).

<sup>1</sup> i, 37: "E quindi lieto si diede a cantare." See Young, pp. 191-192 (and references); Wise, p. 5; Cummings, pp. 158-159.

Now the second of these references is true to the *Filostrato*,<sup>1</sup> but the first is notoriously the opposite, for Boccaccio expressly declares that Cressida had no children.<sup>2</sup> The next mention of "reading" comes soon after the mention of Lollius, namely, in 495, and this time the reference is again true to the *Filostrato*.<sup>3</sup> For the first 500 lines of his poem, then, three of Chaucer's references to his source will suit the formula *Lollius* = *Boccaccio*,<sup>4</sup> and one will not.<sup>5</sup> For the rest of the book we are left without any further indication — the inference being that Lollius is followed. Yet there are hundreds of verses that do not come from Boccaccio. The significance of all this is plain enough, but it becomes still plainer when we reach Book ii.

Here, in vv. 8-49 of the proem, "myn auctor" appears in great state. Chaucer declares that if Clio will only help him to make good rhymes, nothing more will be necessary in this book,<sup>6</sup> since he is not composing anything original but simply translating from Latin into English. Therefore, he adds, he wishes neither praise nor blame for "all this work," — "for as myn auctor seyde, so seye I." And he closes with the words —

Sin I have bigonne  
Myn auctor shal I folwen, if I conne.

There is no mistaking the impression that Chaucer wished these lines to convey. They are equivalent to saying that so far he has followed Lollius in a faithful translation (though not, of course, in a literal translation because he is turning that author's Latin into English rhyme), and that he intends to continue in the same way. Yet of the 500 lines immediately preceding, more than 300 are Chaucer's own, and immediately after this express statement, we have more than 200 verses of which hardly a word can be found in the *Filostrato*. These are ii, 50-273, and what is true of them, is true likewise of ii, 323-385, 421-500, 526-553, 603-644, and 666-698. In short, despite the elaborate professions of fidelity to his *auctor*, it appears that about 500

<sup>1</sup> i, 18.

<sup>2</sup> i, 15.

<sup>3</sup> i, 48. Chaucer substitutes "wel rede I" for Boccaccio's "è assai chiaro ed aperto."

<sup>4</sup> *Troilus*, i, 159-161, 394-395, 495.

<sup>5</sup> i, 132-133.

<sup>6</sup> "This book" (10) appears to mean, not the whole poem, but Book ii. At the beginning of Book iii Chaucer invokes Venus and Calliope.



out of the 650 verses that come immediately after the proem are not from Boccaccio. "Myn auctor," then, as there used for an extensive look before and after, is strikingly inconsistent with the equation *Boccaccio* = *Lollius*.

But we have not done. Chaucer now appeals once more to his *auctor*, this time in introducing an account of Cressida's meditations:

And what she thoughte, somewhat shal I wryte,  
As to myn auctor listeth for to endyte (ii, 699-700).

The meditations, which take up vv. 701-812, contain much more of Chaucer than of Boccaccio; and they are immediately followed by the garden scene (ii, 813-910), which is original with Chaucer,<sup>1</sup> though the reader could hardly avoid the inference that it too came from *Lollius*.

The next appeal to a source is in ii, 1219-1220,<sup>2</sup> where Chaucer says that "his intent" is to give "the effect" of Cressida's letter "as far as he can understand." And, in truth, he here condenses the seven-stanza Italian epistle<sup>3</sup> into five lines. Immediately after, however, before the impression of this reference to authority has faded from our minds, Chaucer becomes notably original, departing from Boccaccio at v. 1227 and (except for some 50 lines) remaining original for about 500 verses — to the end of the second book. Yet in this long passage of original matter he twice pretends to be condensing his *auctor*:

But flee we now prolixitee best is,  
For loue of God, and lat as faste go  
Right to the effect, withouten tales mo (ii, 1564-1566).

But al passe I, lest ye to longe dwelle;  
For for o fyn is al that ever I telle (ii, 1595-1596).

In both these places Chaucer picks up and continues the effect of what he had said about condensing the letter (ii, 1219-1220). *There*,

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Young, pp. 173-176, where especial attention is given to Antigone's song (ii. 827-875). The general source of this lyric I believe to be Guillaume de Machaut (*Modern Language Notes*, XXV, 158); but it is certainly in most respects Chaucer's own.

<sup>2</sup> I pass over ii, 1700-1701, though (in strictness) this passage belongs to the same class as those mentioned below, p. 97, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Filostrato*, ii, 121-127.



he was actually condensing Boccaccio; here he is not condensing anybody, but inventing, and at considerable length. Yet in both cases he wishes the reader to think that he is faithful to his auctor Lollius, though with some abridgement.

Chaucer's procedure, then, as far as the end of Book ii, is quite clear. Having introduced his "auctor Lollius" — his pretended authority for the whole *Troilus* — early in book i (at 394), he recalls him to the reader's mind at convenient intervals. These credits sometimes accord with material that is in the *Filostrato*, but they oftener refer or apply to material that is not. So far, therefore, Lollius is not Boccaccio or anybody else but Lollius — the supposed writer on Troy (celebrated as such in *The House of Fame*) from whom Chaucer (in a fiction) professes to have derived all his material — a Latin writer whom he translates rather closely, never departing from him without due notice.

The proem to Book iii, though not mentioning any *auctor*, is meant to recall (in 39-49) the fiction of fidelity in translating already set forth with such care in the proem to Book ii. We should note the close connection between ii, 13-14, and iii, 43-44:

That of no sentement I this endyte,  
But out of Latin in my tonge it wryte (ii, 13-14).

Ye in my naked herte sentement  
Inhelde, and do me shewe of thy swetnesse (iii, 43-44).

Chaucer picks up this fiction again in iii, 90-91:

His [Troilus'] resons [i.e., his words] as I may my rymes holde,  
[i.e., as well as I can reproduce them in rhyme,]

I yow wol telle, as techen bokes olde.<sup>1</sup>

What follows (92-238) is not in the *Filostrato*, and the whole scene is Chaucer's invention. At 450, however, the matter referred to as "writen in geste" <sup>2</sup> does occur in that poem. Here we have a device

<sup>1</sup> "Bokes olde" means obviously either "myn auctor Lollius" (with a generalizing plural), or "myn auctor Lollius and other old books." The distinction does not affect our argument.

<sup>2</sup> *Filostrato*, ii, 84 (Cummings, p. 157). It should be noted, however, that this ascription, though it may perhaps be admitted as favoring the equation *Lollius* = *Boccaccio*, is by no means a firm buttress for that formula, since "as written is in

which is several times employed in the *Troilus*: — a detail is mentioned (442-448) as to which the poet professes ignorance, and to this succeeds a fact (introduced by *but*, 449) which he does know, or does find in his *auctor*.<sup>1</sup>

Almost immediately after this Chaucer once more suggests condensation ("shortly of this proces for to pace," iii, 470) though the whole passage is his own. Then come the famous stanzas in which he forestalls criticism (iii, 491-504): "Someone may expect me to rehearse every word and message and look. But that would be tedious, and nobody ever heard of its being done in any history. Besides, even if I wished, I could not;

" For there was som epistel hem bitwene,  
That wolde, as seyth myn auctor, wel contene  
Neigh half this book, of which him list not write;  
How sholde I thanne a lyne of it endite ? " (iii, 501-504).

Boccaccio says nothing of the kind. *Auctor*, then, is certainly not Boccaccio.

The next mention of a source is likewise decisive:

Nought myn auctor fully to declare  
What that she thoughte whan he seyde so,  
That Troilus was out of town y-fare,  
As if he seyde ther-of sooth or no;  
*But that, with-oute awayt, with him to go,*  
*She graunted him, siȝh he hir that bisoughte,*  
*And, as his nece, obeyed as hir oughte.* (iii, 575-581).

This stanza contains two statements about "myn auctor": — (1) that he does not make it quite clear whether Cressida believed Pandarus; (2) that he *does* assert that she accepted her uncle's invitation.<sup>2</sup> Now Boccaccio asserts nothing of the kind, for the important incident

"geste" really covers iii, 451-490, and the Boccaccian passage is no adequate source for much of this. Boccaccio, indeed, seems to allow no actual meeting between the lovers until the night when Cressida yields. Chaucer, on the contrary, declares that they had several interviews in the meantime. On the whole, then, this ascription is rather against the equation than for it.

<sup>1</sup> For similar cases, see i, 492-497; ii, 1700-1701; iii, 575-581, 967-973, 1369-1372; iv, 36-42. The device is a natural one, but we may note that its first employment in the *Troilus* (i, 492-497) comes from the *Filostrato* (i, 48).

<sup>2</sup> For the manner of citation, see p. 96, above.

of the visit to Pandarus is of Chaucer's own imagining. The passage would be enough, without further evidence, to destroy the equation *auctor Lollius = Boccacio*.

Very similar is the next allusion to a source, which comes some fifty-odd stanzas later in the same episode:

Can I not seyn, for she bad him not ryse,  
If sorwe it putte out of hir remembraunce,  
Or elles if she tok it in the wyse  
Of duëtee, as for his observaunce;  
*But wel finde I* she dide him this pleasaunce,  
That she him kiste, al-though she syked sore;  
And bad him sitte a-doun with-outen more (iii, 967-973).

Here Chaucer begins by telling us that he does not know why Cressida neglected to bid Troilus rise (presumably because his *auctor Lollius* did not inform him), and then adds something that he *does* "find" (in Lollius — where else?). Again no word of all this in Boccaccio! The same device (where also there is no such matter in the *Filostrato*) recurs in iii, 1369-1372. Here Chaucer says that he cannot tell the posies on the rings interchanged by the lovers, but that he *does* "know well" (i.e., of course, because he found it in Lollius) that Cressida gave Troilus a gold and azure brooch in which was set a ruby shaped like a heart.

A little before this last passage (namely, in iii, 1193-1197), Chaucer expressly mentions his fictitious *auctor*:

I can no more, but of thise ilke tweye,  
To whom this tale sucre be or soot,  
Though that I tarie a yeer, *som-tyme I moot*  
*After myn auctor tellen hir gladnesse,*  
*As wel as I have told hir hevinesse* (iii, 1193-1197).

The "hevinesse" of the lovers (iii, 1197) is described and narrated, with a wealth of vivid detail in iii, 792-1183, and this passage of nearly 400 lines does not come from Boccaccio, even in the most general way.<sup>1</sup> The "gladnesse" of the lovers (iii, 1196) is described and narrated, with a wealth of vivid detail, in iii, 1198-1414, and of this passage of about 200 lines only about a third is taken from the *Filo-*

<sup>1</sup> The parallels between the *Troilus* and the *Filocolo* quoted by Young, pp. 143 ff., may be accepted without affecting my argument here.



*strato*. Yet Chaucer declares with emphasis in iii, 1193-97, which looks before and after, forming a transition from one of these highly original passages to the other, that he has followed his *auctor* in the first and means to follow him likewise in the second, — indeed that he *must* follow him if he is to tell the story. Nowhere in the poem are his disclaimers and his protestation of faithfulness to his *auctor* more striking. Indeed, in iii, 1198, after he has proceeded to the extent of just one verse in the “gladnesse” scene, he reiterates his profession of fidelity in the words, “As written clerkes<sup>1</sup> in hir bokes olde”:

Criseyde, which that felte hir thus ytake,  
*As writen clerkes in hir bokes olde,*  
 Right as an aspes leef she gan to quake (iii, 1197-1199).

The only clerk who ever wrote this in his old book was Geoffrey Chaucer himself. But he is not yet content with the emphasis that he has laid upon his faithfulness to Lollius. In iii, 1321-1330, he actually interrupts his account of the lovers’ “gladnesse” to cite his *auctor* and protest fidelity again:

Away, thou foule daunger and thou fere,  
 And lat hem in this hevene blisse dwelle,  
 That is so heygh, that al ne can I telle!

But sooth is, though I can not tellen al,  
 As can myn auctor, of his excellence,  
 Yet have I seyde (and god to-forn) and shal  
 In every thing al hoolly his sentence;  
 And if that I, at loves reverence,  
 Have any word in-ched for the beste,  
 Doth therewith-al right as your-selven leste (iii, 1321-1330).

“Tellen al” in v. 1324 applies (like the same phrase in v. 1323) to the details of “this hevene blisse.” The meaning is unmistakable. “My *auctor*,” the poet avers, “gives complete details of the lovers’ happiness, but I am unable to reproduce them in full, for I have not his ability;”<sup>2</sup> yet so far in this description, I have reproduced his meaning at every point, condensing more or less, and only now and then insert-

<sup>1</sup> *Clerkes* with their *bokes olde* is manifestly a mere variation of *myn auctor* (three lines before); but if we choose to take it in the sense of “myn auctor and others,” no harm is done.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ii, 8-21, 1219-1220; iii, 39-48; iv, 799-805; v, 1769.



ing a word. And in the rest of the scene I shall do likewise."<sup>1</sup> The plain truth is very different from Chaucer's artistic fiction: — in that portion of the "gladnesse" scene which immediately precedes — about 125 verses (iii, 1198–1320) — he has been almost completely original, borrowing only a dozen lines or so from Boccaccio, and in the rest of this scene (iii, 1338–1414) he expands Boccaccio by about twenty per cent. The whole of the "gladnesse" scene, as I have already noted (iii, 1198–1414), is only about one-third Boccaccio's, and the scene of "hevinesse" (iii, 792–1183) — ascribed to "myn auctor" with equal emphasis — is not in Boccaccio at all.

Here it may be well to consider the Visit to Pandarus as a whole (iii, 512–1582). The narrative is suggested, no doubt, by Boccaccio's account of Troilus' visit to Cressida,<sup>2</sup> but Chaucer has cut loose from

<sup>1</sup> The reference here is not to a general procedure throughout the poem, but to procedure in this scene. The apologetic words of the poet interrupt his account of the lovers' transports, which is resumed at 1338. Chaucer's disclaimer in iii, 1322–1325 is adapted from two passages in the *Filostrato*:

Lungo sarebbe a raccontar la festa,  
E impossibile a dire il diletto  
Che insieme preser pervenuti in questa (iii, 31);

O dolce notte, e molto disiata,  
Chente fostu alli due lieti amanti!  
Se la scienza mi fosse donata  
Che ebbero i poeti tutti quanti,  
Per me non potrebbe esser disegnata! (iii, 33).

It is immensely significant with reference to Chaucer's Lollian fiction that, whereas Boccaccio remarks that even if he had "all the skill of all the poets" he could not do justice to the subject, Chaucer, in adapting the passage, declares that his *auctor* was fully competent and gave a complete and detailed account, but that he [the translator] cannot reproduce all these details, for lack of skill.

Of course Chaucer knew that he had been expanding enormously in this scene, and this knowledge doubtless added zest to his remark (appended to his profession of condensing or omitting) that he might have put in a word here and there to make the translation clearer ("have any word in-ched for the beste"). This would inevitably be understood by any one who was taken in by Chaucer's pretence of translating from Lollius as referring merely to such occasional insertions of a word or two as are necessary in translating from Latin prose or verse into English rhymes.

<sup>2</sup> *Filostrato*, iii, 21–55. Some details appear to have been suggested by the *Filocolo* (see Young, pp. 139 ff.).

the *Filostrato* and written, as all admit, a highly original episode, utilizing only such material in the Italian as suited his purpose. Boccaccio's account occupies less than 300 verses; Chaucer's narrative extends to more than a thousand. Yet Chaucer not only cites his *auctor* just before the episode (iii, 502), but also, in the course of the episode itself, makes several professions (express or implied) that he is faithfully following that *auctor* to the best of his ability, and contracting rather than expanding (iii, 575-581, 967-973, 1193-1199, 1323-1330, 1369-1372). There is one more suggestion of condensing in the very last part of the episode (iii, 1576), though the particular incident (1555-1582) does not occur in Boccaccio at all. This state of things would be enough to prove the impossibility of seriously equating Lollius with Boccaccio rather than with *himself*, *Lollius*, the alleged source of practically everything in the poem.<sup>1</sup>

Book iii closes after some 200 more verses, about half of them from Boccaccio, but it does not close without a sweeping assertion from

<sup>1</sup> I pass over iii, 1774-1775, since here Chaucer is merely appealing to books in general — i.e., the authorities on Trojan history — for the detail that Troilus was second only to Hector in prowess. Most of the stanza, including the phrase in question ("se non erra La storia") comes from the *Filostrato* (iii, 90), but this particular detail is not found there. The celebration of Troilus as next to Hector in prowess occurs five times in Chaucer's poem:

1. The wyse worthy Ector the secounde (ii, 158).
2. For out and out he is the worthieste  
Save only Ector, which that is the beste (ii, 739-740).
3. And certeynly, but-if that bokes erre,  
Save Ector most ydrad of any wight (iii, 1774-1775).
4. For whom [i.e. Hector] as olde bokes tellen us,  
Was mad swich wo that tonge it may not telle, —  
And namely the sorwe of Troilus,  
That next him was of worthinesse welle (v, 1562-1565).
5. As he that was withouten any pere,  
Save Ector, in his tyme, as I can here (v, 1803-1804).

Passages 1, 2, and 5 are not in Boccaccio; 3 has just been discussed. The mourning for Hector is mentioned in the *Filostrato* (viii, 1) as well as in Benoit (16317 ff. Constans, 16265 ff. Joly) and Guido (ed. 1489, sig. i. 4, fol. 3), but the rank of Troilus as second to Hector is not specified in that context by any one of the three. The detail is well covered by both Benoit and Guido elsewhere; still, the particular phrase "Ector the secounde" certainly seems to come from Guido: "alius Hector vel secundus ab ipso" (sig. e 2 v°): see Hamilton, p. 76; Young, pp. 108-111.

Chaucer of fidelity to his *auctor*: — "Thanks and praise to thee, O Lady Venus, and to thy son Cupid, and to you, O Muses!

"That ye thus far han deyned me to gyde,  
I can not more but (syn that ye wol wende) —  
Ye heried been for ay withouten ende!

"Thourgh yow have I said fully in my song  
The effect and ioye of Troilus servyse  
(Al be that ther was som disese among)  
*As to myn auctor listeth to devise.*  
My thridde book now ende I in this wyse —  
And Troilus in lust and in quite  
Is with Criseyde, his owne herte swete" (iii, 1811-1820).

The beginning of Book iv is continuous with the end of Book iii:

But al to litel, weylawey the whyle!  
Lasteth swich ioye — ythanked be Fortune,  
That semeth trewest whan she wol begyle,  
And can to foles so hir song entune  
That she hem hent and blent, traytour comunel  
And whan a wight is from hir wheel ythrowe,  
Than laugheth she and maketh him the mowe.

From Troilus she gan hir brighte face  
Awey to wrythe, and took of him non hede,  
But caste him clene out of his lady grace,  
And on hir wheel she sette up Diomedé;  
For which right now myn herte ginneth blede,  
And now my penne, alas! with which I wryte,  
Quaketh for drede of that I moot endyte.

For how Criseyde Troilus forsook,  
Or at the leste, how that she was unkinde,  
Mot hennes-forth ben matere of my book,  
*As wryten folk thorough which it is in minde.*  
Allas! that they should ever cause finde  
To speke hir harm; and if they on hir lye,  
Y-wis, hem-self sholde han the vilanye (iv, 1-21).

The plural in the last four lines does not suggest any purpose to forsake "myn auctor Lollius," but — if it must be taken literally, and not as a mere variant — merely implies that Lollius is here supported by other authorities. The whole passage (iii, 1811-iv, 21) would assuredly confirm the impression (already fixed in the reader's mind



by much protesting) that Chaucer has followed his one *auctor* closely and intends to follow him closely to the end, never departing from him without due notice.

References or allusions to a source are not common in Book iv; but there are enough of them to keep alive the reader's impression that Chaucer is faithful to his single *auctor*. In iv, 36-42, we have another example of a device already treated:<sup>1</sup> — avowed ignorance of some detail *plus* avowed knowledge of something else. "I do not know how long the interval was, but — the day of battle came," etc. This amounts to alleging that "myn auctor does not define the interval but *does* narrate *ut sequitur*." Here, so it happens, the reference is true to Boccaccio.<sup>2</sup>

In iv, 799-805, however, we have a curious piece of Lollian mystification.

How mighte it ever yred ben or ysonge,  
The pleynte that she made in hir distresse?  
I noot; but, as for me, my litel tonge,  
If I discreven wolde hir hevinesse,  
It sholde make hir sorwe seme lesse  
Than that it was, and childishly deface  
Hir heigh compleynte, and therefore I it pace.

Chaucer would have us believe that his original afforded a fuller account of Cressida's lament, which he is unable to reproduce because of his feeble powers: that is, he exalts his *auctor* at his own expense and pretends to summarize or omit.<sup>3</sup> In fact, however, he gives Cressida's complaint at almost exactly the same length which it has in Boccaccio,<sup>4</sup> and even his disclaimer is a kind of translation, emphasized so as to accord with his regular pose of lack of wit:<sup>5</sup>

Chi potrebbe giammai narrare a pieno  
Ciò che Criseida nel pianto dicea?  
Certo non io, che al fatto il dir vien meno,  
Tant' era la sua noia cruda e rea (iv, 95).

Here, then, Chaucer uses the very words of Boccaccio to produce the effect of condensing Lollius at a time when, in fact, he is following

<sup>1</sup> P. 97, above.

<sup>2</sup> *Filostrato*, iv, 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> We have observed the same device in iii, 1321-1330 (p. 99, above).

<sup>4</sup> *Filocolo*, iv, 88-94.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. p. 99, note 2, above.

Boccaccio without condensation. Lollius, therefore, is not Boccaccio, any more than Chaucer himself becomes identical with Boccaccio by using "I" where the Italian uses "io."

Stanza 203 of this Fourth Book (1415-1421) may perhaps be dismissed as ambiguous evidence. "As writen wel I fynde" (1415) would naturally mean "as I find in Lollius," and then "Thus writen they that of hir werkes knewe" (1421) would be either a loose generalizing plural for "myn auctor," or a real defining plural equivalent to "myn auctor" and other writers. The detail concerned is Cressida's honest purpose and her genuine sorrow at parting, and we have the same assertion of her grief, with a similar plural reference, in v, 15-21 ("as men in bokes rede"). Both Boccaccio<sup>1</sup> and Benoit<sup>2</sup> do, in fact, emphasize this point. Clearly, however, the occasional use of a plural like *bokes* or *they* amounts at most only to the occasional citation of subsidiary authorities to corroborate Lollius, and has a tendency rather to establish than to shaken the reader's faith in Chaucer's carefully fostered fiction that he is a conscientious translator from the Latin of that vanished ancient. This fiction, therefore, is still maintained at the beginning of Book v.

And so we arrive at the highly felicitous incident of Diomede's flirtation *en route* (v, 92-189). This incident was suggested by Benoit;<sup>3</sup> there is not a touch of it in Boccaccio. Yet Chaucer gives no hint that he is here departing from his *auctor*, and the reader has therefore every reason to infer that the episode in question is Lollian. Immediately after the wooing, Chaucer begins to follow Boccaccio again (at v, 190) and keeps reasonably close to him, though indulging in considerable freedom, until we reach the next indication of source (v, 799). From 92 to 799, then, there is no indication on the poet's part that he is indebted to anybody but Lollius. Yet in 92-189 his source (so far as he is not original) is Benoit, while in 190-798 his source (so far as he is not original) is Boccaccio. It is idle, then, to assert that Lollius is Boccaccio unless one is willing to admit that Boccaccio is Benoit!

<sup>1</sup> *Filostrato*, v, 1 and 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> 13495 ff. Constans (13469 ff. Joly). Guido, on the contrary, apostrophizes Troilus in a very different spirit: "Sed, o Troile, quae te tam iuuenilis errare coegit credulitas vt Briseide lacrimis crederes deceptiuis et eius blandiciis?" and he proceeds to lampoon the whole sex (ed. 1489, sig. i 2).

<sup>3</sup> 13529-13702 Constans (13499-13666 Joly).

The celebrated set of portraits or characters — Diomedes, Cressida, Troilus — in v, 799–840, is a digression, and has a somewhat complicated genesis.<sup>1</sup> The passage contains four indications of source. The first, “as bokes us declare” (799), though applying (if strictly taken) to Diomedes’s portrait alone, may well enough be regarded as introducing the whole set. If so, the “bokes” would naturally be understood by the reader (as in the case of the plurals just discussed) to mean “my auctor Lollius and other authorities.” The effect of having consulted more books than one at this point is enhanced by “and som men seyn” (804) and by “they writen that hire syen” (816). As for “in storie it is yfounded” (834), that means only “as history tells us,” and thus ranges with the plural ascriptions that precede, since all educated persons in the fourteenth century knew that there were several extant accounts of the Trojan War. There is no hint that the subsidiary authorities are inconsistent with Lollius in the points here discussed. They are, we are to infer, either confirmatory or supplementary. The Lollian fiction remains, then, in full force.

In the account of Diomedes’s successful pressing of his suit (v, 841–1036), Chaucer four times pretends to be condensing: — “At shorte wordes for to telle” (848); “What sholde I telle his wordes that he seide?” (946); “But in effect, and shortly for to seye” (1009); “And shortly, lest that ye my tale breke” (1032). In fact, he is following Boccaccio (vi, 9–34) with a fair degree of closeness, *but not really condensing him*; for Boccaccio has 208 verses, Chaucer has 196. I do not wish to press the point, however, and am quite willing to allow this passage to stand to the credit of the much battered formula *Lollius* = *Boccaccio*.

What follows immediately, however, is of much significance on the other side. I must quote v, 1037–1057:

And after this *the story telleth us*  
 That she him yaf the faire baye stede  
 The which she ones wan of Troilus;  
 And eek a broche (and that was litle nede) 1040  
 That Troilus was she yaf this Diomedes;

<sup>1</sup> The sources are Boccaccio and (mediately or immediately, or both) the portraits drawn by Dares (cap. 12), as well as the epic of Josephus Iscanus (who also drew from Dares). That Joseph was used by Chaucer has been revealed by Root, whose paper in *Modern Philology* is eagerly awaited (see the references in Cummings, p. 80).



And eek, the bet from sorwe him to releve,  
She made him were a pencil of hir sleve.

*I finde eek in the stories elleswhere,*  
Whan through the body hurt was Diomede, 1045  
Of Troilus, tho weep she many a tere  
Whan that she saugh his wyde woundes blede,  
And that she took to kepen him good hede;  
And, for to hele him of his sorwes smerte,  
*Men seyn* (I noot) that she yaf him hir herte. 1050

But trewely, *the story telleth us,*  
Ther made never womman more wo  
Than she, whan that she falsed Troilus.  
She seyde, Alas! for now is clene a-go  
My name of trouthe in love, for ever-mo! 1055  
For I have falsed oon the gentileste  
That ever was, and oon the worthieste!

"The story" in 1037 is of course "myn auctor Lollius," and equally of course, it is the same *auctor* (Chaucer means to imply) that he has followed in the account just preceding (841-1036). Now the facts are (1) that 841-1036 are mainly (though not exclusively) from Boccaccio, as we have seen; (2) that the steed is from Benoit;<sup>1</sup> (3) that the brooch is from Boccaccio;<sup>2</sup> and (4) that the "pencil" is from Benoit.<sup>3</sup> If Boccaccio is Lollius, then, Benoit is Lollius by the same token, and once more we have proved that Boccaccio is Benoit!

But to continue. "In the stories elsewhere" (1044) either implies a departure from the source that Chaucer has been following in the first stanza or it does not. If it does imply such a departure, it is a misstatement, for the incident reported is from Benoit;<sup>4</sup> if it does not imply such a departure, then it means "elsewhere in Lollius." On either alternative, the equation *Boccaccio* = *Lollius* is excluded.

At all events, "the story" in 1051 manifestly means the same history that is cited in 1037, — that is, Lollius. Yet what follows in 1052-1085 is not from Boccaccio but from Benoit,<sup>5</sup> with Chaucer's own additions.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 14286-14324, 15114-15115 Constans (14238-14276, 15046-15047 Joly).

<sup>2</sup> *Filostrato*, viii, 9-10; cf. *Troilus*, v, 1660-1666.

<sup>3</sup> 15176-15178 Constans (15104 ff., Joly).

<sup>4</sup> 20202 ff. Constans (20193-20,274 Joly).

<sup>5</sup> 20229-20317 Constans (20221-20308, Joly).

<sup>6</sup> Stanzas 156-157 (v, 1086-1099) throw no light on the Lollian fiction. "Non

With 1100 Chaucer returns to Troilus, and the reader naturally supposes (as Chaucer intends him to suppose) that the same source is to be followed as heretofore — Lollius, just referred to as “the story” in 1051. This impression will naturally extend to whatever is narrated until there is a further express indication of source,<sup>1</sup> — that is, it will cover the contents of 1100–1650, — up to 1651, where “the storie” is once more cited. Lollius, then, is responsible for the contents of 1100–1650. These, briefly analyzed, are —

- (1) 1100–1456, mostly from Boccaccio;
- (2) 1457–1512, from Ovid and the *Thebaid*;
- (3) 1513–1534, from Boccaccio, with additions;
- (4) 1535–1561, original and from Benoît;
- (5) 1562–1589, mostly from Boccaccio;
- (6) 1590–1631, Cressida’s letter, original;
- (7) 1632–1650, from Boccaccio.

Thus Lollius becomes a somewhat complicated worthy. Yet he it is whom Chaucer means us to accept as the source of this mosaic (v, 1100–1650), and his intention, clear enough already, is emphasized by another reference to “the storie” at this point (1651). It will be best to quote three stanzas:

Stood on a day in his melencolye  
 This Troilus, and in suspeciuon  
 Of hir for whom he wende for to dye.  
 And so bifel, that through-out Troye toun,  
 As was the gyse, y-bore was up and doun  
 A maner cote-armure, *as seyth the storie*,  
 Biforn Deiphebe, in signe of his victorie,

1650

auctor” (1088) means “neither Lollius (my authority in this work) nor any other writer whom I have consulted on this point.” “The story” in 1094 may mean either Lollius or “the history in general” (i. e., the Trojan story). All the authorities (Benoît, Guido, and Boccaccio) blame Cressida. Thus these verses are ambiguous evidence in our discussion.

<sup>1</sup> The “olde bokes” mentioned in v, 1562–1565, as testifying to the lamentation for Hector count on neither side in our discussion. The reference is merely casual and vouches for an incidental detail. It suggests no turning aside from the main line of translation. The detail, anyhow, is found in all three authorities — Boccaccio (*Filostrato*, viii, 1; *Teseide*, xi, 7), Benoît, and Guido. “Olde stories” in v, 1459, and “olde bokes” in 1478 and 1481, are ascriptions by Cassandra and do not count. Cf. Pandarus’ “bokes twelve” for the *Thebaid* (ii, 108), and Troilus’ “as men in bokes rede” (iii, 1429).

The whiche cote, as telleth Lollius,  
 Deiphebe it hadde y-rent from Diomedee  
 The same day; and whan this Troilus 1655  
 It saugh, he gan to taken of it hede,  
 Avysing of the length and of the brede,  
 And al the werk; but as he gan biholde,  
 Ful sodeinly his herte gan to colde,  
  
 As he that on the coler fond with-inne 1660  
 A broche, that he Criseyde yaf that morwe  
 That she from Troye moste nedes twinne,  
 In remembraunce of him and of his sorwe;  
 And she him leyde ayein hir feyth to borwe  
 To kepe it ay; but now, ful wel he wiste, 1665  
 His lady nas no longer on to triste (v, 1646-1666).

By "the storie" in 1651 Chaucer means the reader to understand the same authority mentioned (in the same terms) in 1037 and 1051. But, since he has not called him by name for a good while, and since the poem is drawing to a close, he adds "as telleth Lollius," and thus fixes his *auctor* in our minds forever.

It is quite true that the detail of the coat-armor is found in Boccaccio, and in Boccaccio alone.<sup>1</sup> But Chaucer's manifest purpose here is not simply to credit Lollius with a particular detail, but likewise to recall the name itself to our minds as that of the *auctor* whom he has consistently pretended to follow from the outset. This fiction of fidelity to Lollius is in no wise weakened or contravened by the few instances in which Chaucer suggests that he has consulted other old writers. For in these instances, as we have seen, the other ancients either agree with Lollius (such is the fiction intended) or supplement him in some incidental matter. Anyhow, the total amount of material thus alleged as supplementary is a mere nothing — and the fiction of fidelity to Lollius gains rather than loses in verisimilitude by such references. For we naturally infer, as I have said before, that Lollius is never abandoned, even for a moment, without due notice.

And so it results from our examination of the numerous passages in which Chaucer thus far refers or alludes to his *auctor*, — there are nearly 40 of them, or an average of one for every 200 lines — that Lollius stands for the source not merely of what Chaucer has actually

<sup>1</sup> *Filostrato*, viii, 8-10.



taken from Boccaccio, but, with a few minute exceptions, for what he has actually taken from Benoit and Statius and Guillaume de Machaut and Boëthius and Ovid and — more important still — what he has derived from his own imagination. Lollius is nobody but Lollius — a real personage (as Chaucer thought) from whom, in a fiction, he pretends to translate his poem.

There is nothing in the 200 lines that remain (v, 1667-1869) that modifies these pregnant and unforced conclusions.<sup>1</sup> Two places, however, need citation. First, in v, 1765-1771, Chaucer reverts to the distinction he made at the very beginning (i, 141-147) and points out the difference between his matter (i.e., the material that he has found in the lost author Lollius) and the well-known tale of Troy as recorded by Dares. This distinction helps, of course, to maintain the fiction of a Lollian source, a long-lost manuscript discovered by Chaucer when the stars were propitious. Second, in 1854-1855 he seems to imply that Lollius wrote in verse, like "Virgil, Ovide, Omer, Lucan, and Stace":

Lo here the forme of olde clerkes speche  
In poetrye, if ye hir bokes seche!

This point, however, may be waived. At all events, Chaucer has informed us unequivocally that Lollius wrote his Troilus story in Latin (ii, 14), and that alone is enough to show that Chaucer did not mean him to be Boccaccio.

<sup>1</sup> "I finde" (v, 1758), following "As men may in thes olde bokes rede" (1753), means apparently, "I find in these old books." The whole passage (1751-1764) is true to Boccaccio (*Filostrato*, viii, 25-26) and may be counted, if one wishes, in favor of the equation so often referred to; but it does not disturb the impression that Chaucer's consistently followed source is Lollius, and that impression disproves the equation. "Other bokes" in 1776, and "as I can here" in 1804 prove nothing either way.

## APPENDIX II

## USE OF THE TESEIDE IN THE TROILUS

Three stanzas of the *Troilus* (v, 1807-1827) have long been recognized as an almost literal translation from the *Teseide* (xi, 1-3). The following imitation, almost equally literal, has not been noted:<sup>1</sup>

On hevene yet the sterres were sene,  
Although ful pale ywoxen was the mone,  
And whyten gan the orisonte shene  
Al estward, as it woned is to done;  
And Phebus with his rosy carte sone  
Gan after that to dresse him up to fare,  
Whan Troilus hath sent after Pandare (v, 274-280).

Il ciel tutte le stelle ancor mostrava,  
Benchè Febea già palida fosse;  
E l'orizzonte tutto biancheggiava  
Nell' oriente, e eransi già mosse  
L'Ore, e col carro, in cui la luce stava,  
Giungevano i cavai, vedendo rosse  
Le membra del celeste bue levato,  
Dall' amica Titonia accompagnato (vii, 94).

Only three stanzas after this striking imitation comes another passage in which Chaucer certainly remembered the *Teseide*. It is the beautiful address of Troilus to his friend in expectation of death, and the deathbed of Arcita is what was in the poet's mind. Troilus sends for Pandarus as Arcita for Palemone<sup>2</sup> and confides to him his last wishes. He speaks of "the fyr and flaumbe funeral" that is to consume his body,<sup>3</sup> of "the pleyes palestral" (a phrase<sup>4</sup> which Chaucer

<sup>1</sup> Dr. B. A. Wise (*The Influence of Statius upon Chaucer*, p. 21) compares *Thebaid*, xii, 1-4, which may well be the original of Boccaccio's verses, but Chaucer was rendering Boccaccio here.

<sup>2</sup> *Troilus*, v, 280; *Teseide*, x, 37. This line of the *Troilus* closes the stanza just noted as almost literally rendered from *Teseide*, vii, 94, and the speech of Troilus begins after two stanzas of transition.

<sup>3</sup> v, 302-303; cf. *Teseide*, xi, 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> *Troilus*, v, 304; cf. *Teseide*, vii, 4 ("un palestral giuoco"), 27 ("mio palestral giuoco"); Theseus, to honor the dead Arcita, contends "nell'unta palestra" at

got from the *Teseide*). and requests that his steed may be offered to Mars and his arms to Pallas.<sup>1</sup>

His final request relates to his ashes:

The poudre in which myn herte ybrend shal torne,  
That preye I thee thou take and it conserve  
In a vessel that men clepth an urne,  
Of gold, and to my lady that I serve,  
For love of whom thus pitously I sterve,  
So yeve it hir, and do me this plesaunce,  
To preye hir kepe it for a remembraunce (v, 309-315).

Egeo vi ritornò il dì seguente,  
E con pietosa man tutte raccolse  
Le ceneri da capo prima spente  
Con molto vino, e di terra le tolse,  
Ed in un' urna d'oro umilmente  
Le mise, e quella in cari drappi involse,  
E nel tempio di Marte fe' guardare  
Fin ch'altro loco le potesse dare (xi, 58).<sup>2</sup>

Palemone has a temple built,

Ed in quel volle che 'l cener guardato  
Fosse d'Arcita, in eterna memoria  
Del suo valore e della sua vittoria (xi, 69).

In the midst of the temple was set up a column,

sopra la qual d'oro lucente  
Un' urna fu discretamente sita:  
Dentro la qual la cenere tepente  
Fece servare del suo amico Arcita (xi, 90).<sup>3</sup>

Troilus ends with a prayer to Mercury:

And, god Mercurie, of me now, woful wrecche,  
The soule gyde, and whan thee list it fecchel (v, 321-322).

the "giuochi" (xi, 59, 62). *Teseide*, xi, 62, is cited by Young, *The Origin and Development of the Story of Troilus and Creseyde*, p. 177 (see Skeat on *Troilus*, v, 304). Cf. Wise, *The Influence of Statius upon Chaucer*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>1</sup> v, 306-308; cf. *Teseide*, xi, 35, 52, 55-56 (see Skeat on *Troilus*, v, 306).

<sup>2</sup> This comparison is made by Young, pp. 177-178 (cf. Wise, pp. 21-22; Cummings, p. 79).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the argument of *Teseide*, xi; also (for urns), ii, 74, 81 (called *vaselli* in ii, 83).



This is a plain reminiscence of Arcita's prayer to the same god,<sup>1</sup> as well of his wish for sacrifice to be made to him: —

Amici cari, io me ne vo dicerto,  
Perch' io vorrei a Mercurio litare,  
Acciò che esso, per sì fatto merto,  
In luogo ameno piacciagli portare  
Lo spirto mio (x, 89).

The inscription on Arcita's urn, in which the urn itself is made to speak the epitaph, is justly admired by every reader:

Io servo dentro a me le reverende  
Del buon Arcita ceneri, per cui  
Debito sacrificio qui si rende.  
E chiunque ama, per esempio lui  
Pigli, se amor di soverchio l' accende:  
Perocchè dicer può: qual se' io fui,  
E per Emilia usando il mio valore  
Morii: dunque ti guarda da Amore (xi, 91).

Chaucer remembered this epitaph when he wrote the very different stanza, still more beautiful, in which Troilus addresses those lovers in future days who shall pass by his tomb:

O ye lovers that heigh upon the wheel  
Ben set of Fortune in good aventure,  
God leve that ye finde ay love of steel,  
And longe mot your lyf in ioye endure!  
But whan ye comen by my sepulture,  
Remembreth that your felawe resteth there;  
For I lovede eek, though I unworthy were (iv, 323-329).

Chaucer's use of the *Teseide* in the *Troilus*, proved by the foregoing examples, seems to have begun in his First Book. It appears to be discernible in the quotation that Pandarus makes from Oenone's letter:

"Phebus, that first fond art of medicyne,"  
Quod she, "and coude in every wightes care  
Remede and reed, by herbes he knew fyne,  
Yet to him-self his conninge was ful bare;  
For love hadde him so bounden in a snare,  
Al for the doughter of the kinge Admete,  
That al his craft ne coude his sorwe bete" (i, 659-665).

<sup>1</sup> *Teseide*, x, 93-98.

This, as Skeat remarks, is "not at all a literal translation" of *Heroides*, v, 149-152, though it "gives the general sense."

Quaecumque herba potens ad opem radixque medendi  
 Utilis in toto nascitur orbe, mea est.  
 Me miseram, quod amor non est medicabilis herbis!  
 Deficior prudens artis ab arte mea.  
 Ipse repertor opis vaccas pavisse Pheraeas  
 Fertur et e nostro saucius igne fuit.  
 Quod nec graminibus tellus fecunda creandis  
 Nec deus, auxilium tu mihi ferre potes (v, 147-154).

The words of Palemone in *Teseide*, iii, 25, may have influenced Chaucer here:

O quanto ne sarieno a tal fedita  
 Gli argomenti esculapii buoni e sani,  
 Il qual dicien che tornerebbe in vita  
 Con erbe i lacerati corpi umani!  
 Ma che dich' io? *Poichè Apollo, sentita*  
*Cotal saetta, che i succhi mondani*  
*Tutti conobbe, non seppe vedere*  
*Medela a sè che potesse valere.*

Cf. *Teseide*, iv, 46 (Arcita's words this time, in a prayer to Apollo):

Siccome te alcuna volta Amore  
 Costrinse il chiaro cielo abbandonare,  
 E lungo Anfriso in forma di pastore  
 Del grande Admeto gli armenti guardare,<sup>1</sup>  
 Così or me il possente signore  
 Qui in Atene ha fatto ritornare,  
 Contra al mandato che mi fe' Teseo  
 Allora ch'a Peritoo mi rendeo.

In Book ii, it is worth while to compare verses 50-56 with three beautiful stanzas in the *Teseide*.

In May, that mother is of monthes glade,  
 That fresshe flowers, blewe and whyte and rede,  
 Ben quike agayn, that winter dede made,  
 And ful of bawme is fleting every mede;  
 When Phebus doth his brighte bemes sprede  
 Right in the whyte Bole, it so bitidde  
 As I shal singe, on Mayes day the thridde (ii, 50-56).

<sup>1</sup> See also *Teseide*, vi, 55; x, 13, 25.

*Febo, salendo con li suoi cavalli,  
 Del ciel teneva l' umile animale  
 Che Europa portò senza intervalli  
 Là dove il nome suo dimora avale;  
 E con lui insieme graziosi stalli  
 Venus facea de' passi con che sale:  
 Perchè rideva il cielo tutto quanto  
 D'Amon che 'n pesce dimorava intanto.*

*Da questa lieta vista delle stelle  
 Prende la terra graziosi effetti,  
 E rivestiva le sue parti belle  
 Di nuove erbette e di vaghi fioretti;  
 E le sue braccia le piante novelle  
 Avean di fronde rivestite, e stretti  
 Eran dal tempo gli alberi a fiorire  
 Ed a far frutto, e 'l mondo rimbellire.*

*E gli uccelletti ancora i loro amori  
 Incominciato avien tutti a cantare,  
 Giulivi e gai nelle fronde e fiori;  
 E gli animali nol potean celare,  
 Anzi 'l mostravan con sembianti fuori;  
 E' giovinetti lieti, che ad amare  
 Eran disposti, sentivan nel core  
 Fervente più che mai crescere amore (iii, 5-7).*

One is also reminded of the opening verses of *The Canterbury Tales*.<sup>1</sup>  
*Troilus*, ii, 64-71, has a certain resemblance to *Teseide*, iv, 73:

*The swalwe Proigne with a sorwful lay,  
 Whan morwe com, gan make hir weymentinge,  
 Why she forshapen was; and ever lay  
 Pandare abedde, half in a slomeringe,  
 Til she so neigh him made hir chiteringe,  
 How Tereus gan forth hir suster take,  
 That with the noyse of hir he gan awake,  
 And gan to calle and dresse him up to ryse (ii, 64-71).*

*Allor sentendo cantar Filomena,  
 Che si fa lieta del morto Tereo,  
 Si drizza (iv, 73).<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Where Skeat well compares Guido, bk. iv (opening passage), ed. 1489, sig. d 2. Cf. also Petrarch, Sonnet 8 in *Vita*.

<sup>2</sup> Cited by Cummings, p. 54. Koepfel, *Anglia*, XIII, 184, compares *Purga-*



The following stanza in Pandarus' description of the prowess of Troilus (not in the *Filostrato*) appears to owe something to the *Teseide*:

Now here, now there, he hunted hem so faste,  
There nas but Grekes blood and Troilus:  
Now hem he hurte, and hem alle doun he caste.  
Ay where he went it was arrayed thus:  
He was hir deeth, and sheld and lyf for us;  
That as that day ther dorste noon withstonde,  
Whyl that he held his bloody swerde in honde (ii, 197-203).

Esso ferì tra la gente più folta,  
E colla spada si fece far via;  
E questo qua, e quello là rivolta,  
Costui abbatte, e quell' altro ferìa:  
E combattendo dimostra la molta  
Prodezza che Amor nel cor gli cria:  
E' non ne giva nullo rispiarmando  
Ma come fulgor tutti spaventando (viii, 81).

Dr. Cummings (p. 55) compares —

O cruel god, O dispitouse Marte,  
O Furies three of helle, on yow I crye! (ii, 435-436).

with

O fiero Marte, o dispettoso iddio (i, 58);<sup>1</sup>  
Marte nella sua fredda regione  
Colle sue furie insieme s'è tornato (iii, 1).

In *Troilus*, iii, 720-721, Venus is adjured to be favorable —

For love of him thou lovedest in the shawe,  
I mene Adoon, that with the boor was slawe.

This may possibly have been suggested by *Teseide*, vii, 43:

O bella Dea del buon Vulcano sposa,  
Per cui s'allegra il monte Citerone,

*torio*, ix, 13-15. I compare *Anth. Pal.*, v, 237. Wise, p. 63, declares that Petrarch's 42d sonnet (*in Morte*) is the source of *Troilus*, "ii, 50 f. and 64 f.":

Zefiro torna, e'l bel tempo rimena  
Ei fiori e l'erbe, sua dolce famiglia,  
E garrir Progne, e pianger Filomena,  
E primavera candida e vermiglia.

<sup>1</sup> Wise, p. 62. In *Troilus*, iv, 22-24, it is impossible to doubt that Chaucer remembered Dante, *Inferno*, ix, 45 ff.

Deh, i' ti prego che mi sii pietosa  
Per quello amor che portasti ad Adone.<sup>1</sup>

At all events, Chaucer thought well enough of the passage to translate it pretty literally in the *Knight's Tale*, A, 2221-2225:

Fairest of faire, o lady myn, Venus,  
Doughter of Iove and spouse of Vulcanus,  
Thou glader of the mount of Citheroun,  
For thilke love thou haddest to Adoun,  
Have pitee of my bittre teres smerte.

Chaucer's confusion of Tithonus with "the sonne Tytan" in *Troilus*, iii, 1464-1470, may be due to Boccaccio's form *Titon* for Tithonus in *Teseide*, iv. 72:

E sempre si svegliava allora  
Che de Titon partita vien l' Aurora.<sup>2</sup>

Skeat compares *Heroides*, xviii, 111-112, but omits 114, which is very pertinent; "Et querimur parvas noctibus esse moras." We should certainly add *Amores*, i, 13, which not only concerns Tithonus and Aurora but contains the original of certain lines in *Troilus'* address to Night:

Wel oughte bestes pleyne and folk thee chyde  
That, ther-as day with labour wolde us breste,  
That thou thus fleest, and deynest us nought reste! (iii, 1433-1435).

Cf. *Amores*, i, 13, 17ff., and in particular:

Prima bidente vides oneratos arva colentes,  
Prima vocas tardos sub iuga panda boves (11-12).

*Troilus*, v, 8-12, is manifestly a close translation from the *Teseide*:

The golden-tressed Phebus heighe on-lofte  
Thryes hadde al with his bemes shene  
The snowes molte, and Zephirus as ofte  
Ybrought ayein the tendre leves grene  
Sin, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Teseide*, vi, 42:

Nè crede alcun che sì bel fosse Adone  
Di Cinira, da Vener tanto amato.

<sup>2</sup> Cummings, p. 70. Cf., however, *Purgatorio*, ix, 1-3; Petrarch, Sonnet 23 (*in Morte*).

Il sole avea due volte dissolute  
Le nevi agli alti poggi, ed altrettante  
Zefiro aveva le frondi rendute  
Ed i be' fiori alle spogliate piante,  
Poichè, etc. (ii, 1).<sup>1</sup>

Chaucer's description of Cressida may owe something to Boccaccio's description of Emilia. I will not insist on the resemblance between *Troilus*, v, 809-812, and *Teseide*, xii, 54:

And ofte-tyme this was hir manere,  
To gon ytressed with hir heres clere  
Doun by hir coler at hir bak bihinde,  
Which with a thred of gold she wolde binde (v, 809-812).

Dico che li suoi crini parean d'oro,  
Non per treccia ristretti ma soluti,  
E pettinati sì che in fra loro  
Non n' era un torto, e cadean sostenuti  
Sopra li candidi omeri, nè foro  
Prima nè poi sì be' giammai veduti:  
Nè altro sopra quelli ella portava  
Ch' una corona ch' assai si stimava (xii, 54).<sup>2</sup>

But his comment that Cressida's joined brows were the only defect in her beauty certainly reminds one of the particularity with which Boccaccio notes that Emilia's eyebrows *were* divided:

La fronte sua era ampia e spaziosa,  
E bianca e piana e molto dilicata,  
Sotto la quale in volta tortuosa,  
Quasi di mezzo cerchio terminata,  
Eran due ciglia più che altra cosa  
Nerissime e sottil, nelle qua' lata  
Bianchezza si videa lor dividendo,  
Nè 'l debito passavan sè estendendo (xii, 55).

Professor Root has discovered that verses 807-826 owe much to Josephus Iscanus, iv, 156-162;<sup>3</sup> but Chaucer could never have unriddled the *joined eyebrows*<sup>4</sup> from Joseph's tangled rhetoric ("Um-

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Wise, p. 62, who notes that Boccaccio is imitating *Thebaid*, iv, 1-3, and who compares also *Thebaid*, vii, 223-226. See Rossetti, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilton, p. 79, compares *Troilus*, v, 809-812, with *Teseide*, vii, 65, 1-2. See Young, pp. 117-118.

<sup>3</sup> See Cummings, p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> On the eyebrows see Krapp, *Modern Language Notes*, XIX, 235; Hamilton,



braeque minoris Delicias oculus iunctos suspendit in arcus") unless he had found that detail plainly expressed in Benoit or Guido or Dares.

"They writen that hire syen" (v, 816) suggests the words of Dares ("hos se vidisse," cap. 12), but it may likewise echo Boccaccio's address to the Muses when he is about to describe Emilia's "beauties": — "Voi le vedeste, e so che le sapete" (xii. 52).

We may note that Boccaccio gives a portrait of Palemone in *Teseide*, iii, 49, of Arcita in iii, 50.

The attack on the heathen Gods in *Troilus*, v, 1850, 1852-1853, may owe something to Emilia's blasphemy:

O dispietati iddii senza mercede,  
Or che è questo che v' è in piacere?  
Dov' è l'amore antico, ove la fede  
Che solevate portare a' mondani?  
Ella n' è gita con li venti vani (xi, 42).

This passage in Chaucer comes only four stanzas after his borrowing of *Teseide*, xi, 1-3 (*Troilus*, v, 1807-1827).

A few trifles (most or all of doubtful validity) may be added: — *Troilus*, ii, 816 (Flexippe), *Teseide*, viii, 43 (Plessippo); *Troilus*, iii 1427-1428, *Teseide*, iv, 14 (Wise, pp. 11-12); *Troilus*, iv, 789-790, *Teseide*, x, 94; *Troilus*, iv, 1586 (proverb), *Teseide*, xii, 11; *Troilus*, v, 599-602, *Teseide*, iii, 1 (Wise, p. 23, well compares Dante, *Inferno*, xxx, 1-3).<sup>1</sup>

*Troilus*, ii, 967-972, closely resembles *Teseide*, ix, 28, but really comes from *Filostrato*, ii, 80. In like manner, *Troilus*, iii, 1310-1318, is closer to *Filostrato*, iii, 31, 33, than to *Teseide*, xii, 76.

The general and particular influence of the *Teseide* on the *Troilus* may be discerned in the use of a number of more or less elaborate astronomical and mythological *definitions of time*. Such things are hardly found in the *Filostrato*.<sup>2</sup> Examples from the *Teseide*<sup>3</sup> are: ii, 1; iii, 5-7, 43; iv, 1; v, 103; vii, 94; ix, 29; x, 1, 88; xii, 64, 81. in the same journal, XX, 80; Curry, *The Middle English Ideal of Personal Beauty*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>1</sup> Note that Chaucer may well have remembered *Inferno*, xxx, 1-12, when he wrote *Troilus*, iv, 1538-1540.

<sup>2</sup> I have noted only v, 68-69 (*Troilus*, v, 647-648); i, 18 (*Troilus*, i, 155-165) is not the same kind of thing.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ninfale Fiesolano*, iv, 1.

The device took Chaucer's fancy, and he used it freely, not only in the *Troilus* but in his later poetry as well. At least two of the passages from the *Teseide* appear in the *Troilus*: ii, 1 (*Troilus*, v, 8-11), and vii, 94 (*Troilus*, v, 274-279); and iii, 5-7, may have influenced *Troilus*, ii, 50-56 (see p. 113). Other examples from the *Troilus* are: ii, 904-910; iii, 1415-1420; iv, 1590-1593 (cf. v, 1188-1190); v, 1016-1020, 1107-1110; cf. iii, 624-626 (see C. T., A 3514-3521). The following passages in *The Canterbury Tales* illustrate his fondness for this kind of rhetorical adornment: — *Prologue*, 1 ff. (cf. *Teseide*, iii, 5-7; *Troilus*, ii, 50-56); *Knight's Tale*, A 1491-1496; introduction to *Man of Law's Tale*, B 1-15; *Nun's Priest's Tale*, B, 4377-4389; *Merchant's Tale*, E, 1795-1799, 1885-1887, 2219-2224; *Squire's Tale*, F, 47-51, 263-265, 385-387, 671-672; *Franklin's Tale*, F, 1016-1018, 1245-1255; *Parson's Prologue*, I, 1-12.

In some of these examples there is more than a suggestion of the humorous consciousness on Chaucer's part that he is indulging in what Scott called the "big bow-wow style."<sup>1</sup> This comes out in gratifying fashion in *The Franklin's Tale*:

Til that the brighte sonne loste his hewe,  
For thorisonte hath reft the sonne his light,  
This is as muche to seye as it was night (F 1016-1018).

The same spirit (which some critics mistake for *naïveté*) is discernible in *Troilus*, ii, 904-910:

The dayes honour and the hevenes yë,<sup>2</sup>  
The nightes fo, — al this clepe I the sonne! —  
Gan westren faste, and downward for to wrye,  
As he that hadde his dayes cours yronne, etc.

Boccaccio's fondness for such figures in the *Teseide* is due in large part to his admiration for the *Thebaid*, in which they are common. As a specimen we may take a passage which Boccaccio seems to have reworked in the *Teseide*, vii, 94:

Nondum cuncta polo vigil inclinaverat astra  
Ortus, et instantem cornu tenuiore videbat  
Luna diem, trepidas ubi iam Tithonia nubes  
Discutit ac reduci magnum parat aethera Phoebus (xii, 1-4).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare B 1-15 with B 4383-4389.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 110, above.

<sup>2</sup> "Mundi oculus," Ovid, *Met.*, iv, 228.

Other examples from the *Thebaid* are: — i, 97-99, 336-346, 692-693; ii, 134-140, 527-528; iii, 33-39, 440-441; iv, 1-3, 680-682; v, 85-89, 296-298, 459-460, 476-477; vi, 25-27, 238-241; vii, 470-473; viii, 271-274; x, 1-2; xii, 50-51, 228-229.

No doubt both Boccaccio and Chaucer felt in this matter the influence of Dante, who is notably fond of such figures. See for example, *Inferno*, i, 37-40; *Purgatorio*, i, 19-21;<sup>1</sup> ii, 1-9; ix, 1-9; xv, 1-9; xix, 1-6;<sup>2</sup> xxv, 1-3; xxvii, 1-5; xxx, 1-6; *Paradiso*, xx, 1-6; xxix, 1-6; xxx, 1-9. Cf. also Petrarch Sonnets 8, 20, 28, 168 *in Vita*; Canzone *in Vita*; Sonnet 42 *in Morte*.

<sup>1</sup> The prayer to the Virgin in *Paradiso*, xxxiii, 1 ff., is freely used (as everybody knows) in *The Second Nun's Tale*, G 36 ff. Vv. 13-15 are not there used, but are taken as part of Troilus' address to Love in iii, 1262-1263 (see Skeat; Koeppl, *Anglia*, XIV, 230). "The well-willy planete" in this same address (iii, 1257) reminds one of *Purgatorio*, i, 19 ("Lo bel pianeta che ad amar conforta") — a passage which Chaucer certainly admired, for he uses the next line ("Faceva tutto rider l'oriente") in *The Knight's Tale*, A 1494: "That al the orient laugheth of the light" (Skeat). It is proper to compare also *The Squire's Tale*, F 272-274, with *Purgatorio*, i, 19-21:

Lo bel pianeta che ad amar conforta  
Faceva tutto rider l'oriente,  
Velando i Pesci ch'erano in sua scorta.

Now dauncen Venus lusty children dere,  
For in the Fish hir lady sat ful hye  
And loketh on hem with a frendly ye.

<sup>2</sup> This passage may have been in Chaucer's mind when he elaborated *Filostrato*, iii, 42, 1-2, into *Troilus*, iii, 1415-1420.



## APPENDIX III

## THE TESEIDE AND THE THEBAID

For reference I have made a running analysis of the *Teseide*, noting parallel passages in the *Thebaid*. The table is the result of my own comparison of the two, but in checking it up I have freely used the studies of Crescini<sup>1</sup> and Wise,<sup>2</sup> and I hereby disclaim originality. No attempt is made to estimate the intermediate influence of the *Roman de Thebes*.<sup>3</sup>

## BOOK I

After five stanzas of invocation, Boccaccio tells the story of the Amazons. These warlike ladies kill their husbands and male relatives and establish a kingdom of women. Hippolyta is elected queen. Theseus sails against them and conquers their realm after a hard fight. He marries Hippolyta and other Athenians take wives from among the Amazons (sts. 6-138). When the book closes, Theseus and his men are living in idleness and luxury in the Amazonian land.

For this First Book Boccaccio got his material largely from Hypsipyle's account of the Lemnian women in *Thebaid*, v, 49-498. Statius does not call the Lemnian women Amazons, but he lets Hypsipyle make the comparison:

Amazonio Scythiam fervere tumultu  
Lunatumque putes agmen descendere, ubi arma  
Indulget pater et saevi movet ostia belli (v, 144-146).

Boccaccio did not need the comparison, but it certainly encouraged him. He has made an easy and obvious combination of the Lemnian story with the orthodox legend of Theseus and Hippolyta, which is sufficiently set forth in the *Thebaid*, xii, 163-164, 519-539, 578-579, 761-762. The campaign of Theseus against the Amazons in the *Teseide* is more or less imitated from Statius's account of the attack of the Argonauts on the women warriors of Lemnos.

<sup>1</sup> *Contributo agli Studi sul Boccaccio*, Turin, 1887, pp. 220-247. Cf. *Giornale Storico*, XXXVIII, 447-449.

<sup>2</sup> *The Influence of Statius upon Chaucer*, Baltimore, 1911 (see especially pp. 78-115).

<sup>3</sup> See Crescini, as above; Savj-Lopez, *Giornale Storico*, XXXVIII, 57-78.

i, 6-7. Certain fierce women of Scythia disdain to live under the rule of men and take counsel to slay their husbands and male relatives after the example of the granddaughters of Belus (the Danaids). So, in S v, 85 ff., Polyxo exhorts the Lemnian women: "Firmate animos et pellite sexum" (105). B 7 mentions the Danaids and so does Polyxo (S 117-120).

E come fér le nipoti di Belo  
Nel tempo cheto agli novelli sposi,  
Così costor ciascuna (i, 7).

Potuitne ultricia Graiis  
Virginibus dare tela pater, laetusque dolorum  
Sanguine securos iuvenum perfundere somnos?  
At nos vulgus iners? (v, 117-120).

i, 7, 29-33. The Amazons killed fathers, brothers, sons, and husbands. So the Lemnians in S v, 200-201, 206 ff., 235-238, etc.

i. 8. Ippolita is chosen queen. In S v, 320-325 the Lemnians choose Hypsipyle queen.

i, 18. Theseus sails against the Amazons. In S v, 335 ff., the Argonauts sail up to Lemnos.

i, 29-33. See i, 7, above.

i, 47-48. The Amazons have a castle near the shore and other defences, and try to hold them against the invaders. Cf. S v, 350-356.

i, 52. They throw fire and great stones down upon the ships. Cf. S v, 376-389.

i, 61-65. Theseus harangues his men. So Jason in S v, 403-409. Theseus, of course, is present among the Argonautic assailants (v, 432).

i, 66-67. Theseus and others leap overboard into the water. Cf. S v, 402: "medias ardet descendere in undas." Cf. also S, vii, 430 ff.

i, 129-138. Love and marriage between the Amazons and the invaders. The strangers are received with feasting. Cf. S v 445-451.

i, 134. The queen of the Amazons (Ippolita) marries Theseus. Cf. S v, 453-467 (Hypsipyle and Jason). In B there are new sacrifices to Venus (134): cf. S v, 449-450 ("tunc primus in aris Ignis").

The residence of the Athenians for some time in the Amazonian land, with which Boccaccio's First Book closes and his Second Book begins, is like that of the Argonauts in Lemnos (S v, 459-460).

BOOK II

ii, 1-9. Pirithous reproves Theseus for lingering uxoriously in the land of the Amazons, and Theseus sets sail for Athens.

Detumuere animi maris, et clementior Auster  
Vela vocat, ratis ipsa moram portusque quietos  
Odit et adversi tendit retinacula saxi.  
Inde fugam Minyae, sociosque appellat Iason (v, 468-471).

In the next four stanzas (10-13) Boccaccio gives a brief summary of the results of the expedition of the Seven against Thebes compiled from several different places in the *Thebaid*: — death of Amphiaraus (vii, 794-823), of Tydeus (viii, end), of Hippomedon (ix, 455-565), of Parthenopaeus (ix, 877 ff.), of Capaneus (x, 927-939), of Eteocles and Polynices (xi, 552-573); Adrastus flees to Argos (xi, 757-761); Creon becomes king of Thebes (xi, 648-655) and refuses burial to the dead Greeks (xi, 661-664).

Stanzas 14-83 of the *Teseide* are well accounted for by Book Twelve of the *Thebaid*, 149-807. They tell of the embassy of the Grecian widows, the expedition of Theseus against Creon, the death of Creon, the sack of Thebes, and the obsequies of the Greek chieftains. There are countless imitations and bits of translation, as was to be expected, but we need not take them up in detail.<sup>1</sup> One of them, however, is worth mentioning, for it marks a point of contact with the Amazonian story. In stanza 52, Creon, defying Theseus, informs him that he is not now fighting against women. So in S xii, 761-762:

Non cum peltiferis, ait, haec tibi pugna puellis,  
Virgineas nec crede manus, etc.

With stanza 85 of the Second Book Boccaccio begins to be original, for here is the first appearance of Palemone and Arcita. From this point to the end of the book (sts. 84-99) there is little imitation of the *Thebaid*. These twenty stanzas tell how the two young Thebans were found among the dead, taken to Athens, and imprisoned for life. One fine passage in the *Thebaid*, however, has left its mark on this passus of the *Teseide*. It is xii, 22-32, on which Boccaccio had his eye in writing stanza 85. Note especially the striking sentence

Frigida digeritur strages (xii, 29).

<sup>1</sup> See Crescini, pp. 230-234; Wise, pp. 78 ff.



## BOOK III

Book III tells how Palemone and Arcita fell in love with Emilia, and how Pirithous procured Arcita's release from prison. Here we need expect no influence from the *Thebaid*. With iii, 66, cf. S i, 11-12, and x, 900-901.

## BOOK IV

Book IV describes Arcita's wanderings: he finally returns to Athens and takes service with Theseus, under the name of Penteo. This name is that of a famous Theban king — Pentheus, mentioned in *Thebaid* iv, 565; vii, 211. I note two slight cases of imitation in details of Book iv:

Dove son ora le case eminenti  
Del nostro primo Cadmo? (iv, 14).

Sed nec veteris cum regia Cadmi  
Fulmineum in cinerem monitis Iunonis iniquae  
Consedit (iii, 183-185).

Ove di Dionisio appaion ora,  
Misero a me, gli trionfi indiani? (iv, 15).

Ceu modo gemmiferum thyrso populatus Hydaspen  
Eoasque domos, nigri vexilla triumphi  
Liber et ignotos populis ostenderet Indos (viii, 237-239).

## BOOK V

Book V, in the first thirty-three stanzas, describes the frantic jealousy of the imprisoned Palemone, and tells how he escapes and takes refuge in a wood, where, as it happens, Arcita is sleeping. So far there is scant opportunity for imitation. In v, 13, however, Boccaccio mentions Tisiphone, summoned by Oedipus, etc. (S i, 46-130). With stanza 34 we again connect with the *Thebaid*.

v, 34-85. Palemone discovers the sleeping Arcita. They fall to fighting, and are separated by Theseus. Here there are manifest resemblances to the struggle of Tydeus and Polynices in the courtyard of Adrastus's palace and their separation by Adrastus in the first

book of the *Thebaid* (376-481).<sup>1</sup> Note that Tydeus discovers Polynices asleep, and that Adrastus (like Theseus in Boccaccio) does not know who the combatants are. Again, they are both exiles. Theseus (st. 83) like Adrastus (438-446) demands the names of the rivals and the cause of their quarrel. Note, too, the kindness of both Theseus (st. 85) and Adrastus (435-481) in word and deed.

v, 86-105. The combatants disclose their identity and the ground of their quarrel. Theseus pardons them, suggests a tournament to settle the question, and gives the rivals hospitality in his palace. Here there is still a certain likeness to the Adrastus episode in *Thebaid* i. In both cases the ruler grants hospitality to the two (B v, 104-105; S i, 481 ff.). Note also that Theseus promises to give Emilia to either Palemone or Arcita, and that Adrastus marries Tydeus and Polynices to his daughters (*Thebaid*, ii, 134-261). There is also a trace of Polynices' shame with reference to his ancestry (i, 673-681) in Palemone's reluctance to wed Emilia because

Io son di tante infamie solo erede  
De' primi miei rimaso (xii, 24).

In the fight in the wood Boccaccio also has his eye on the combat between Eteocles and Polynices in *Thebaid*, xi, 387 ff. He mentions them in v, 59:

Qua' fossero poi fra loro i due fratelli  
D' Edippo nati non cal raccontare;  
Il fuoco fe' testimonianza d'elli,  
Nel qual fur messi dopo il lor mal fare.

This refers to the famous incident of the divided flame in *Thebaid*, xii, 420-446. With *Teseide*, v, 65-67, cf. *Thebaid*, xi, 513-520. That Arcita thinks Palemone dead (v, 68-69) reminds one of *Thebaid*, xi, 552-560, though the spirit of the incident is by no means similar.

## BOOK VI

The Sixth Book of the *Teseide* recounts the muster of knights for the great tournament. It is mostly occupied with a list of the "barons" and their description. This book is more or less indebted to the *Thebaid*. A large number of proper names come from that poem.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Savj-Lopez, *Giornale Storico*, XXXVI, 63-66.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Crescini, p. 243, note 1.

account of the funeral games for Archemorus (vi) — used later by Boccaccio extensively in Book xi — is drawn on, and so is the account of the muster of the Seven. Some details are worth noting.

According to Boccaccio, King Licurgo came to the muster in black: he was

ancora lagrimoso  
Per la morte di Ofelte (vi, 14) —

that is, of Opheltes or Archemorus, whose death and burial are described in *Thebaid* v-vi.

“Argeo ed Epidaurio” (vi, 19), if the text is right, looks like an error based on *Thebaid* vi, 912-913:

“Iamque aderant instructi armis Epidaurius Agreus  
Et nondum fatis Dircaeus agentibus exul [sc. Polynices].

Agamemnon comes to Athens in a chariot drawn by four great bulls:

Sopra d'un carro da quattro gran tori  
Tirato dall' Inachia Agamennone  
Vi venne (vi, 21).

He had a black beard and wore a bearskin with gleaming claws over his armor:

Non armi chiare, non mantel lodato,  
Non pettinati crin, non ornamenti  
D'oro o di pietre aveva, ma legato  
D'orso un velluto cuoio con lucenti  
Unghioni al collo, il quale d'ogni lato  
Ricoprien l'armi tutte rugginenti (vi, 22).

Compare the tigerskin which Hippomedon received as a prize in the funeral games:

Tunc genitus Talao [sc. Adrastus] victori tigrin inanem  
Ire iubet, fulvo quae circumfusa nitebat  
Margine et extremos auro mansueverat unguis (vi, 721-724).

This same passage (cf. S, ix, 685-686) is also imitated in Boccaccio's description of Evandro:<sup>1</sup>

Ed era armato d'armi forti e fiere,  
E un cuoio, per mantel, d'orso piloso  
Libistrico, le cui unghie già nere  
Sott' oro eran nascose luminoso (vi, 36).

<sup>1</sup> Evander is not mentioned in the *Thebaid*.



Cromi or Cromis from Etolia is described in *Teseide*, vi, 27-29. He rides on a man-eating horse:

Sopra Strimon caval di Diomede,  
D'uomini mangiator, come si crede (27).

This is Chromis, son of Hercules (*Thebaid*, vi, 346-350), whose horses in the chariot race at the funeral games were "Getici pecus Diomedis" (348). One of them was named Strymon (464). Boccaccio introduces the creature again in a strange incident in the tournament (viii, 120), to which we shall return presently.

Ippodamo (st. 29) comes next to Cromi in Boccaccio's list, obviously because they are brought together by Statius in the chariot-race: "It Chromis Hippodamusque" etc. (S, vi, 346-354, 436-490). Boccaccio says he was the son of "Eomonia pulita," which is a misreading of S, vi, 347: "ab Oenomao."

Nestore from Pilos, son of Neleo, appears in st. 30. He is still a young man. This is from the muster in *Thebaid*, iv:

Avia Dyme  
Mittit opem densasque Pylos Neleia turmas;  
Nondum nota Pylos iuvenisque aetate secunda  
Nestor, et ire tamen peritura in castra negavit (iv, 124-127).

In stanza 52 comes "Ida Piseo," crowned for his victory in the Olympic Games.

Prior omnibus Idas,  
Nuper Olympiacis umbratus tempora ramis,  
Prosilit, excipiunt plausu Pisaea iuventus  
Eleaeque manus (vi, 553-556).

He is a contestant in the footrace at the games for Archemorus, and accordingly Boccaccio represents him and his company as fast runners (st. 53). The comparison in this stanza comes from what is said of Parthenopaeus in *Thebaid* vi, 568.

Stanza 61 shows a close translation of *Thebaid*, vii, 340-342.

## BOOK VII

vii, 1-21. The kings and barons assemble in the theatre (1-2) — for the theatre cf. *Thebaid*, vi, 249-264 — and Theseus explains the purpose and the rules of the tournament in a speech which the people

applaud (3-14). The two companies are formed, Arcita's and Palemone's (15-21).

In sts. 22-93 we have the prayers of Arcita, Palemone, and Emilia, with a description of the temples. Here Boccaccio is again much indebted to Statius.<sup>1</sup>

vii, 23-28. Arcita prays to Mars. With the vow of hair and beard (28) cf. *Thebaid*, ii, 255; vi, 198-201, 607-610; viii, 487-488, 492-493.

vii, 29. Mars was in his great and horrible "ospizio" [in Thrace], and the prayer wings its way thither. The personified prayer feels terror at the sights it sees. Cf. *Thebaid*, vii, 1-13, when Jupiter sends Mercury to Thrace with a message to Mars, and vii, 74-75 (terror of Mercury).

vii, 30-38. Description of the region and of the temple of Mars. Closely translated from *Thebaid*, vii, 34-63, cf. 68.

vii, 39-41. Omens observed by Arcita. Partly from *Thebaid*, vii, 64-69 (cf. ii, 260-261).

vii, 42-49. Palemone prays to Venus.

vii, 50. The prayer flies up to the temple on Mount Cithaeron (Citerone). Here Boccaccio is misled by the resemblance between the names *Cythera* and *Cithaeron*.

Sopra il monte Citerone,  
 . . . . . dove si posa  
 Di Citerea il tempio e la magione  
 Infra altissimi prini alquanto ombrosa (st. 50).

Mount Cithaeron, between Boeotia and Attica, is often mentioned in the *Thebaid*. Note especially —

Inde plagam qua molle sedens in plana Cithaeron  
 Porrigitur lassumque inclinat ad aequora montem  
 Praeterit (i, 330-332)

Amica Cithaeron  
 Silva rogis (xii, 52-53).

vii, 51-66. Description of the garden and temple of Venus, also of the goddess herself. On the resemblance to the Court of Love tradition, see Neilson, who remarks the parallel to Claudian.<sup>2</sup> Though

<sup>1</sup> For ceremonies, prayers, and omens, cf. *Thebaid*, ii, 244-261, 704 ff.; viii, 298 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, pp. 116-117, 15-17 ([Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VI).

sts. 51-66 are not from the *Thebaid*, yet the suggestion came from the passage about the temple and region of Mars (above-mentioned, st. 30). Then Boccaccio carried out the suggestion by the use of the Court of Love tradition and of miscellaneous classical material.

vii, 67. Venus hears Palemone's prayer. Strife ensues in heaven between her and Mars, but they find a means to reconcile his petition with Arcita's. Cf. *Thebaid*, iii, 260-316; x, 893-894.

vii, 68-69. Palemone remains at his devotions, etc.

vii, 70-76. Emilia makes an offering to Diana. Description of the temple and the rites. With st. 72 cf. *Thebaid*, ix, 573-574; with st. 75 cf. *Thebaid*, iv, 452-454; with st. 76 cf. *Thebaid*, iv, 461-468.

vii, 77-87. Emilia's prayer. See the prayer to Diana in *Thebaid*, ix, 608 ff. (cf. vi, 633-637).

vii, 88-93. The omen to Emilia. With st. 92 cf. S, ix, 595-596.

vii, 94-145. The combatants assemble in the theatre, and all is ready for the tournament. For st. 94 cf. *Thebaid*, xii, 1-4; for the theatre (108-110) cf. *Thebaid*, vi, 249-264; for the gathering of the people to see the show (112) cf. *Thebaid*, vi, 249-250, etc.

The simile of the lion in st. 106 is from the *Thebaid*, iv, 494-499, and that of the wild boar in st. 119 is expanded from *Thebaid*, xi, 530-531:

Qual per lo bosco il cinghiar rovinoso,  
Poi ch' ha di dietro a sè sentiti i cani,  
Le setole levate, etc, (119).

Fulmineos veluti praeceps cum comminus egit  
Ira sues strictisque erexit tergora saetis (xi, 530-531).

## BOOK VIII

The tournament is described — Arcita is victor. There are 131 stanzas. Much of this is mere imitation of the tournaments in the Old French chivalric romances. There is a plethora of proper names, many of them invented *ad hoc*. One very curious incident was suggested by Statius. Cromis rides a man-eating horse. In the tournament

Di Cromis il roncione,  
Ch' ancora che solea sì ricordava  
Gli uomin mangiar, pel braccio Palemone  
Co' denti prese forte, et sì l'aggrava



Col duol, che 'l fece alla terra cadere,  
Mal grado ch' e' n'avesse, e rimanere.

E quale il drago talora i pulcini  
Dell' aquila ne porta renitenti,  
O fa la leonessa i leoncini  
Per tema degli aguati delle genti;  
Così faceva quel vibrando i crini,  
Forte strignendo Palemon co' denti;  
Cui egli aveva preso in tal maniera  
Che maraviglia aveva chiunque v' era.

E se non fosse ched egli fu atato  
Da' suoi avversi, il caval l' uccidea;  
A cui di bocca appena fu tirato,  
E tratto fuor della crudel mislea,  
E senza alcuno indugio disarmato  
Per Arcita, che l'arme sue volea,  
Per offerirle a Marte, se avvenesse  
Ch' a lui il dì il campo rimanesse (120-122).

And so Palemone lost the tournament and Arcita was declared the victor. In the *Thebaid*, Hippodamus, the chief antagonist of Chromis in the chariot race is thrown:

Sed Thraces equi ut videre iacentem  
Hippodamum, redivit illa fames, iamiamque trementem  
Partiti furiis, ni frena ipsosque frementes  
Oblitus palmarum, retro Tirynthius heros  
Torsisset victusque et conlaudatus abisset (vi, 486-490).

As to Chromis's man-eating horse Strymon, see *Teseide*, vi, 27, and *Thebaid*, vi 348, 464 (cf. xii, 155-157).

## BOOK IX

In stanzas 1-9 Boccaccio still imitates Statius. A Fury scares the horse of the victorious Arcita, who is thrown and desperately hurt. So in the *Thebaid*, in the funeral games, a monster frightens Arion, Adrastus' steed, which is driven by Polynices. Polynices is thrown from the chariot and comes near being killed (vi, 491-512). The monster is sent by Phoebus, as the Fury in Boccaccio is sent by Venus. With *Teseide*, ix, 7-8:

Il qual [sc. Arcita's horse] per ispavento in piè levossi,  
Ed indietro cader tutto lasciossi.

Sotto il qual cadde il già contento Arcita,  
E il forte arcione gli premette il petto,  
E sì il ruppe, che una ferita  
Tutto pareva il corpo al giovinetto —

compare *Thebaid*, viii, 540-542:

Ruit ille [sc. equus] ruentem  
In Prothoum lapsasque manu quaerentis habenas  
In voltus galeam clipeumque in pectora calcat.

For the description of the Fury in st. 5, cf. *Thebaid*, i, 90-91, 103-113; with st. 6 cf. *Thebaid*, i, 97-98.

ix, 9-28. Arcita is picked up amid lamentation and receives medical treatment. He recovers his senses, and the victory and Emilia are declared his.

ix, 29-50. Though suffering dreadfully, Arcita rides in a triumphal car. A triumph like a Roman triumph is celebrated.

ix, 51-80. Theseus addresses the warriors and praises their valor on both sides. All the prisoners taken are released except Palemone, who is declared Emilia's prisoner. She sets him free and gives him a ring and a horse and arms.

ix, 81-83. Arcita claims Emilia, and their marriage takes place. For sacrifices at the wedding (83) cf. *Thebaid*, ii, 244-261.

## BOOK X

The first 92 stanzas are mostly original. Those killed in the tournament are burned and their ashes inurned; the wounded receive treatment (1-10). Arcita proves to be mortally wounded; Ischion comes from Epidaurus to treat him, but pronounces the case hopeless (11-14). He grows worse and worse, and bequeaths all he possesses (including Emilia) to Palemone (15-36). His address to Palemone and Palemone's to him; Ippolita and Emilia try to comfort him (37-52). Arcita talks with Emilia, recommending Arcita to her favor; her grief; his lament; general sorrow (53-87). Nine days after the tournament, Arcita begs his friends to prepare sacrifices to Mercury, so that the god may conduct his soul to a pleasant place. Palemone offers

the sacrifices next day (88-92). Arcita's prayer, asserting the innocence of his life; his lament for his youth: he shall love Emilia forever; his death (93-112).

In Arcita's prayer, with the protestations of the innocence of his life (93 ff.), there is mention of the sins of his race which is reminiscent of passages in the *Thebaid* and illustrates Boccaccio's intimate knowledge of that epic. Sts. 95-96 deal with Cadmus, Agave, Semele, and Athamas: cf. *Thebaid*, iii, 179-194, and iv, 553-571, in both of which places all four are mentioned. With the reference to Oedipus in st. 96 cf. particularly the protestations of innocence by the mother of Menoeceus in *Thebaid*, x, 796-797; cf. also i, 233-235:

Nè amante

Della mia madre fui, la nazione

Nel sen materno indietro ritornante

Siccome Edippo (x, 96).

Non ego monstifero coitu revoluta notavi

Pignora, nec nato peperì funesta nepotes (x, 796-797).

Scandere quin etiam thalamos hic impius heres

Patris et immeritae gremium incestare parentis

Appetiit, proprios monstro revolutus in ortus (i, 233-235).

For other lists of Theban crimes and tragedies see *Thebaid*, i, 1-16, 227-241; xi, 486-492 (cf. i, 673 ff.).

Stanzas 110 and 112, as well as the fifth and sixth stanzas of book xi, show the influence of the finest passage in the *Thebaid* — one of the most beautiful, indeed, in the whole range of epic poetry — that in which the dying Atys calls for Ismene his betrothed (viii, 637-655). Cf. particularly *Teseide* x, 110, with 648-650; x, 112, with 643-645; xi, 5-6, with 653-655.

## BOOK XI

This book shows throughout an imitation, often very close, of the funeral of Archemorus (Opheltis) in the Sixth Book of the *Thebaid*.

xi, 1-12. General grief for Arcita, especial sorrow of Emilia and Palemone. With sts. 5-6 we have already compared *Thebaid*, viii, 653-655. Sts. 11-12 are influenced by vi, 45-53.

xi, 13-29. Preparation of Arcita's pyre. Note the following parallels: B 14, S, vi, 84-86; B 15, S 54-56, 61-62; B 16, S 25-30, 124-



125; B 18-25, S 84-113 (the pyre of Opheltes is mentioned in B 18); B 26-29, S 54-66, 84-86.

xi, 30-58 (cf. *Thebaid*, vi, 28-237). Arcita's funeral. His ashes are put into an urn. Cf. B 30 with S 28-32; B 31 with S 33-36; B 32 with S 37-43; B 33-34 with S 45-53; B 35-36 with S 67-81, 193-194; B 37 with S 126-128, 210-212; B 38 with S 128-130, 197-198; B 39-40 with S 130-133; B 41 with S 135-141; B 42 with S 197-201; B 43 with S 122-124; B 44 with S 202, 184-185; B 46 with S 184-185; B 47-50 with S 194-203, 206-210; B 51 with S 211-212, 204-205, 130-133; B 52-56 with S 213-226; B 57 with S 234-237.

xi, 59-68. The funeral games (S, 249-946). Cf. B 59 with S vi, 295-296; B 60-61 with S 531-549; B 62 with S 833, 834, 847; B 64 with S 729-734; B 66 with S 646-647.

xi, 69-89. A temple is built by Palemone where the pyre stood. Description of the temple. The history of Arcita's life is represented therein. The suggestion for these stanzas is in *Thebaid*, vi, 242-248 (cf. 268-294).

xi, 90-91. Arcita's urn is placed on a column in the temple, with an inscription.

## BOOK XII

xii, 1-19. Continued grief of Palemone and Emilia. Theseus and the Greeks think it is time for the mourning to cease. Theseus wishes Palemone to marry Emilia. With B st. 6, cf. *Thebaid*, vi, 46-48. For Foroneo (st. 18) see *Thebaid*, ii, 219.

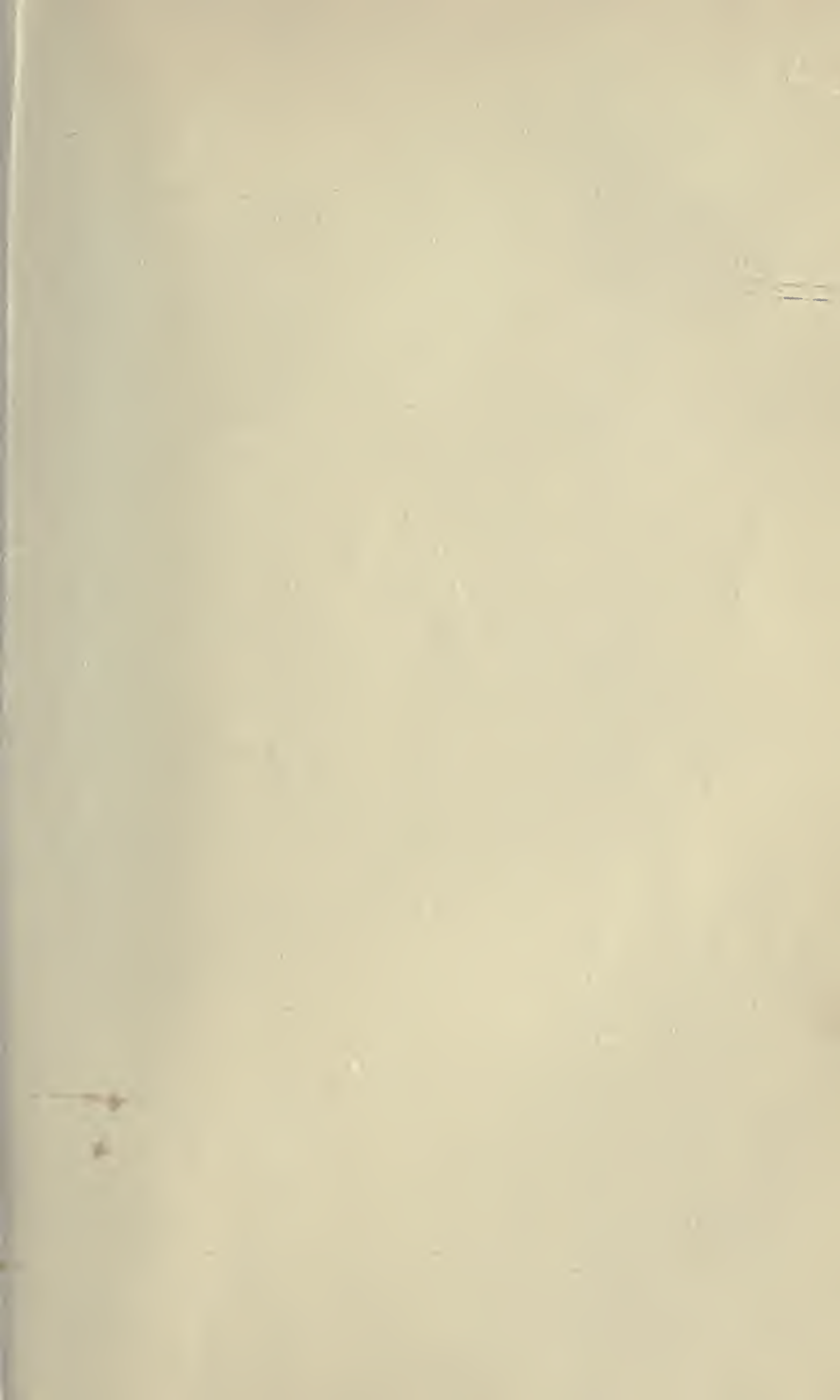
xii, 20-46. Palemone and Emilia have scruples about marriage, but Theseus overrules their objections.

xii, 47-80. Preparations for the wedding. Arcita is forgotten. Description of Emilia (53-64). The marriage ceremony and festivities. With st. 68 cf. *Thebaid*, ii, 244-261.

xii, 81-86. Two months have elapsed since the "high barons" came to Athens for the joust. They return to their several countries. Palemone lives in joy with his wife. Conclusion — The author's address to his book. With B, sts. 84-86, cf. S, xii, 810-819.

The poem closes with a sonnet addressed by the author to the Muses "per lo libro suo" (he beseeches them to give it to his lady) and with the reply of the Muses ("Your lady has named the book *Teseide*"). Cf. S, xii, 810-819.









from G. L. K.

# ENGLISH WITCHCRAFT AND JAMES THE FIRST

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By GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE

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# ENGLISH WITCHCRAFT AND JAMES THE FIRST

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COMMON fame makes James I. a sinister figure in the history of English witchcraft. The delusion, we are told, was dying out in the later years of Elizabeth, but James fanned the embers into a devouring flame. His coming was the signal for a violent and long-continued outburst of witch-hunting, for which he was personally responsible. He procured the repeal of the comparatively mild Elizabethan law and the enactment of a very cruel statute. He encouraged and patronized witchfinders, and was always eager for fresh victims. His reign is a dark and bloody period in the annals of this frightful superstition.]

Many authorities might be adduced in support of these views, but I must rest content with quoting three writers who have had some influence in propagating them, — Mrs. Lynn Linton, Mr. Robert Steele, and Mr. G. M. Trevelyan.<sup>1</sup>

In 1861 Mrs. E. Lynn Linton published a volume of *Witch Stories*, which was reissued in 1883 and has met with deserved favor. Mrs. Linton has no mercy on James I. His “name stands accursed for vice and cruel cowardice and the

<sup>1</sup> For other pronouncements of a more or less similar nature, see Sir Walter Scott, *Introduction to Potts's Discoverie, Somers Tracts*, 2d edition, 1810, 3. 95; Mrs. Lucy Aitkin, *Memoirs of the Court of King James the First*, 1822, 2. 166-167; *Retrospective Review*, 1822, 5. 90; Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, 1830, pp. 227, 246-247; Crossley, *Introduction to Potts*, Chetham Society, 1845, pp. xix., xiv.; Thomas Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, 1851, 1. 284, 2. 143-144; Charles Hardwick, *History of Preston*, 1857, p. 146; P. Q. Karkeek, *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 1874, 6. 786; F. A. Inderwick, *Side-Lights on the Stuarts*, 2d ed., 1891, pp. 154-155; Horley, *History of Sefton*, 1893, p. 115, note 1; H. N. Doughty, *Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1898, 163, 388; W. R. Roper, *Materials for the History of Lancaster*, Part i, Chetham Society, 1907, pp. 26-27.

utmost selfishness of fear.”<sup>2</sup> “Treacherous, cruel, narrow-minded, and cowardly,” she calls him, “beyond anything that has ever disgraced the English throne before or since.”<sup>3</sup> He had a “mania against witches,”<sup>4</sup> a “lust for witch blood.”<sup>5</sup> “There was no holding in of this furious madness after James I. had got his foot in the stirrup, and was riding a race neck and neck with the Devil.”<sup>6</sup> These are hard words; yet Mrs Linton knows that the beliefs which she has in mind were “rampant in England when good Queen Bess ruled the land,”<sup>7</sup> and her own book contains facts enough to give us pause.

Let us take a leap of thirty-odd years and read what Mr. Robert Steele has to tell us in his article on witchcraft in the fourth volume of a well-reputed work of collaboration, *Social England*, edited by Mr. H. D. Traill:

[With the accession of James a change came over the feelings of those in power. During the later years of Elizabeth tract after tract appeared, calling for severe punishment upon witches, but with no result: the English trials, up to now, had been characterised rather by folly than ferocity, the new rule was marked by ferocious folly. For forty years Scotland had been engaged in witch-hunting, with the result that 8000 human beings are believed to have been burnt between 1560 and 1600; and for the last ten years of the century the king had been at the head of the hunt. . . . In the first Parliament of James the more merciful Act of Elizabeth was repealed; a new and exhaustive one was enacted. . . . Under this Act 70,000 persons were executed up to 1680.<sup>8</sup>]

[I stand aghast at these figures. There is no sense or reason in them. No records have been published or examined which would justify the assertion that *a seventieth part* of this monstrous number met their death in the period named. As for the time from the passage of the act of 1604 till the death of James in 1625, Mr. Steele would find it hard to make out an average of more than two or three executions a year. I half suspect that he has got hold of some statistics of mortality from the plague.]

Mr. Trevelyan is vaguer, but no less emphatic: “The skeptical Elizabeth, perhaps with some pity for her sex, had refused to yield when the pamphlet press called on the Gov-

<sup>2</sup> Ed. 1861, p. 20.<sup>3</sup> Pp. 259-260.<sup>4</sup> P. 259.<sup>5</sup> P. 261.<sup>6</sup> P. 195.<sup>7</sup> P. 195.<sup>8</sup> 4. 85-86.



ernment to enact fiercer laws 'not suffering a witch to live.' The outburst came with the accession of a Scottish King, who, though he rejected the best part of the spirit of Knox, was crazed beyond his English subjects with the witch-mania of Scotland and the continent. [His first Parliament enacted new death-laws; at once the Judges and magistrates, the constables and the mob, began to hunt up the oldest and ugliest spinster who lived with her geese in the hut on the common, or tottered about the village street mumbling the inaudible soliloquies of second childhood." <sup>9</sup> In this witch-hunt, Mr. Trevelyan tells us, "learning, headed by the pedant King, was master of the hounds." <sup>10</sup>

So much for the current opinion.<sup>11</sup> Let us try to discover to what extent it is justified by the facts. And first we must consider two things that have created an enormous prejudice against King James, — his Scottish record and his authorship of the *Dæmonologie*.

[The history of witchcraft in Scotland is a difficult subject, and it is particularly hard to determine just what degree of responsibility attaches to King James. To sift the matter thoroughly would require much time and space. Still, a few facts are patent. (1) James did not make the Scottish law of witchcraft. The statute was enacted in 1563, before he was born. (2) He did not teach the Scottish nation the witch creed. That creed was the heritage of the human race, and was nowhere less questioned by all classes and all professions than in Scotland, where, indeed, it survived in full vigor for more than a century after James was dead. (3) The worst period of Scottish prosecution does not fall in his reign. The three great prosecutions were in 1590-1597, in 1640-1650, and in 1660-1663. The second was worse than the first, and the third (which began with the Restoration) was the worst of all. (4) James did not initiate the prosecutions of 1590.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> England under the Stuarts [1904], p. 32.

<sup>10</sup> P. 33.

<sup>11</sup> A brief but powerful vindication of King James was inserted by William Gifford in his edition of Ford (1. clxxi., Dyce's revision, 1869, 3. 276; cf. Quarterly Review, 41. 80-82), but it has attracted little attention. See also Disraeli's Character of James the First (Miscellanies of Literature, N.Y., 1841, 3. 355-360).

<sup>12</sup> See particularly Mr. F. Legge's paper on Witchcraft in Scotland, in The Scottish Review for October, 1891 (18. 257-288).

Upon this last point we must dwell for a moment. In 1583, when James was a boy of seventeen, the Scottish clergy called for a sharper enforcement of the law. In 1590 began the trials of John Fian and his associates, with which the name of the king is indissolubly connected. It seems quite clear that these trials were not James's own idea. His intellectual curiosity — well known to be one of his most salient characteristics — led him to attend the examinations. But he was not naturally credulous in such matters (as we shall see later), he found the confessions beyond belief, and he pronounced the witches "extreame lyars." When, however, Agnes Sampson, to convince him, repeated in his private ear a conversation that he had held with the queen on the marriage-night, he "acknowledged her words to bee most true, and therefore gaue the more credit" to their stories.<sup>13</sup> It makes little difference what we think of this feat of Agnes Sampson's: the value of the anecdote lies in the light it throws on the king's skepticism. Agnes also implicated the Earl of Bothwell in a charge of witchcraft against the king's life. James's dislike and fear of Bothwell are notorious; they appear in a striking passage of the *Basilikon Doron*.<sup>14</sup> He looked on Bothwell as his evil genius and was ever ready to listen to anything to his discredit. Chancellor Maitland, who was Bothwell's enemy, had the king's confidence.<sup>15</sup> Numerous executions followed, and the great prosecution of 1590–1597 was now under way. It had started, however, not with James, but, as usual, among obscure persons. The king had simply become involved in the affair. No doubt he countenanced the general witch-hunt that followed; but he cannot be said to have encouraged it, for no encouragement was needed. The clergy were eager, and the people lived in constant terror of witches. If ever there was a spontaneous popular panic, this was such an outbreak. James and his Council had only to let the forces work. And, indeed, it seems pretty certain that they had no power to stem the current. Mr. Andrew Lang, who censures the king,

<sup>13</sup> *Newes from Scotland*, 1591, sig. B 2 (Roxburghe Club reprint).

<sup>14</sup> 1599, Roxburghe Club reprint, p. 97.

<sup>15</sup> Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, 2. 412; Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, 1. 230, 240, note; Legge, *Scottish Review*, 18. 262.

says in plain terms that he "could not have controlled the preachers."<sup>16</sup> Add to this the testimony of Pitcairn, a hostile witness, that the period from 1591 to 1596 was distinguished by "open defiance of the King and Parliament, and by the frequent and daring conspiracies enterprised against the Royal person."<sup>17</sup> Altogether, it does not appear that James is to blame for the events of 1590-1597, or that the prosecution proves him either exceptionally credulous or exceptionally devoted to witch-hunting. If a whole nation believes in witchcraft, outbreaks of prosecution (like other outbreaks) are likely to happen whenever there are troublous times. This has been seen over and over again, — in the tumult of the English Civil War, for instance, and just after the Revolution, and in our own Salem at a critical moment in New England history.<sup>18</sup> James was not riding the storm like Odin. He was only a mortal man, swept off his feet by the tide.

Whether these considerations are just or not, one thing is certain — by 1597 James was convinced that matters had gone too far. Indictments were piling upon indictments, there was no telling the innocent from the guilty, and no end was in sight. Commissions of justiciary for witchcraft were being held throughout Scotland, and the king, by a stroke of the pen, revoked them all.<sup>19</sup> It is noteworthy that the proximate cause of his action was the discovery that many denunciations were fraudulent. Compare James's incredulity at the outset, and the skill which he showed later in life (as we shall see presently) in detecting similar impostures. From 1597 to James's accession to the English throne in 1603, there were abundant witch-trials in Scotland, but the annual number of executions was much smaller, and there is no reason to suppose that the king pressed for more. When he succeeded to the English crown, the intensity of the Scottish witch-quest had ceased, by his own act, and that period was associated in his mind with a time of anarchy. England looked to him like a haven of rest. He was certainly

<sup>16</sup> History of Scotland, 2. 353.

<sup>17</sup> Criminal Trials, 1. 357.

<sup>18</sup> See Kittredge, Notes on Witchcraft, 1907, pp. 64-65.

<sup>19</sup> Privy Council Register, 5. 409-410; Spottiswoode, 3. 66-67; Legge, p. 264; Lang, History of Scotland, 2. 433.



thinking of other matters than witches when he came into the promised land.

So much for the first of the two things that have led men to approach James's English witch record with a prejudiced opinion. Let us pass to the second,—his authorship of the *Dæmonologie*.

The importance of King James's *Dæmonologie* has been greatly exaggerated, both as to its bearing on his supposed career as a prosecutor and as to its effect on English sentiment in his time. The book is a confession of faith, not an autobiography. It is proof of what James *thought*, not of what he *did*. The publication of the *Dæmonologie* did not cause the death of any Scottish witches, either directly or indirectly. Nor did it convert a single Scottish skeptic, for there were none to convert. The book did not appear until 1597, — the very year in which James, by a stroke of the pen, checked the great prosecution that had been going since 1590. As to England, the case against the *Dæmonologie* is pitifully weak. The treatise, though well-constructed and compendious, is not original. It adduces neither new facts nor new arguments. Mr. Gardiner is perfectly right when he says that James "had only echoed opinions which were accepted freely by the multitude, and were tacitly admitted without inquiry by the first intellects of the day."<sup>20</sup> Certainly there is no reason to think that the *Dæmonologie* had any appreciable effect on English sentiment.

I am well aware that King James's *Dæmonologie* was re-issued in London in 1603. But this was a mere bookselling speculation,<sup>21</sup> like the Latin translation by Germberg that appeared at Hanover in 1604.<sup>22</sup> There is no parade about the volume, no hint that it was published at the king's instance. Contrast the circumstances attending the publica-

<sup>20</sup> History of England, 1603–1642, 7. 322–323 (1899).

<sup>21</sup> John Hawarde (born about 1571) makes a curious note in his manuscript, *Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata* (ed. Baildon, pp. 179–180): "Nothinge now was talked of but the relligion, vertue, wisdom, learninge, Justice, & manye other most noble & woorthye prayeses of K. James, . . . his bookes new printed, (*Βασιλικον δογων*, *Freen monarchies*, *Monologie*, *Expositions upon the Reuelacions & the Kings, the Lepanto*)."

<sup>22</sup> There are two London editions of 1603. See the details in Ferguson, *Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 3. 51.



tion of the *Basilikon Doron* in the same year. This had been privately printed in 1599. When it came before the public in 1603, there was a long, defensive preface, entirely new, in which the king exerted himself to stand well with his English subjects.<sup>23</sup> [James, as we have already remarked, had other things than witchcraft to occupy his thoughts when he mounted the English throne. If it can be shown that he immediately engaged in a campaign for new witch-laws or for more vigorous prosecution, then we may regard the *Dæmonologie* of 1603 as a campaign document. But first one must show that he did engage in any such campaign; otherwise the question is begged. And, as we shall soon discover, he did nothing of the kind.

[Clearly, then, we must study the witch law and the witch-trials of James's English reign on the basis, not of prejudice, but of evidence. And first we may consider the Statute of 1604.]

[The current ideas about the English laws against witchcraft are very inaccurate. For these misapprehensions Thomas Wright is in large part responsible. His learned and interesting *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, which has enjoyed a deserved popularity for more than fifty years, is surprisingly loose in its statements about legal history.

"The first act in the statute-book against witchcraft," says Wright, "was passed in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII., A.D. 1541, whereby this supposed crime was made felony without benefit of clergy."<sup>24</sup> So far he is quite correct, except for the year of our Lord, which should be 1542. "In 1547," he adds, "when the power was entirely in the hands of the religious reformers under Edward VI., his father's law against witchcraft was repealed." This assertion, though technically indisputable, is rather misleading. The act to which Wright refers (1 Edward VI., c. 12) does

<sup>23</sup> See the Roxburghe Club reprint of the 1599 edition. On the attention which the *Basilikon Doron* attracted, see *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1603-1607*, pp. 10, 65.

<sup>24</sup> *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, 1851, 1. 279. See also the authors cited above (p. 1, note 1). The account of the laws given by Mr. James Williams in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed., 24. 620-621) is above the average, but not free from errors. There are serious mistakes in Mr. Robert Steele's summary in *Traill's Social England*, 3. 326.

not once mention sorcery, magic, or witchcraft. The third section wipes out of the statute-book "all offences made felony by any act or acts of Parliament, statute or statutes, made sithence the xxiiiith day of April in the first year of the reign of the said late King Henry theight, not being felony before." Among these offences was witchcraft.

Wright's next statement is highly objectionable. It amounts to a serious, though inadvertent, *suppressio veri*. "Under Elizabeth," he avers, "in 1562 [this should be 1563], a new act was passed against witchcraft, punishing the first conviction only with exposure in the pillory."<sup>25</sup> Now the truth is that Elizabeth's law was much severer than one would infer from these words. It fixes the death penalty (1) for all who "use, practise, or exercise invocations or conjurations of evil and wicked spirits to or for any intent or purpose," quite irrespective of the result of such invocations or conjurations, and (2) for all who practise witchcraft that causes a person's death. Under the former provision—to take a good example—Edmund Hartlay lost his life in Lancashire in 1597. He was a professed conjurer, and had been employed to relieve the children of Mr. Nicholas Starkie, who were thought to be possessed with devils. Hartlay caught the hysterical affection himself and was tormented in like manner. "The next day, beinge recouered, he went into a little wood, not farr from the house, where he maide a circle about a yarde and halfe wyde, deuïding it into 4. partes, making a crosse at every diuision: and when he had finished his worke, he came to *M. Starchie* and desiered him to go and tread out the circle, saying, I may not treade it out my selfe, and further, I will meete with them that went about my death,"<sup>26</sup> — that is, in effect, I wish to raise the devils that tried to kill me yesterday. There were other charges against Hartlay, but none of a capital nature. "The making of his circle was cheffy his ouerthrowe."<sup>27</sup> He denied the fact, but, the rope breaking, confessed it before he died.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Narratives, 1. 279.

<sup>26</sup> John Darrel, A True Narration, etc., 1600, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Darrel, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Another case occurred in 1580. William Randall was hanged for conjuring to discover hidden treasure and stolen goods. Four others were tried for aiding and abetting, and three of them were sentenced to death, but reprieved. The trial

Furthermore, the Elizabethan statute provided that "witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery" which caused bodily injury to human beings or damage to goods or chattels should be punished with a year's imprisonment (with quarterly exposure in the pillory) for the first offence, and *with death for the second offence*. And finally, the statute provided imprisonment and the pillory, with *life imprisonment* for the second offence, for all who should "take upon" themselves to reveal the whereabouts of hidden treasure or of lost or stolen goods, or should practise witchcraft with intent to provoke unlawful love or to "hurt or destroy any person in his or her body, member, or goods." It must now be manifest how unduly Wright extenuates the grimness of Elizabeth's law.

Thus we reach the reign of James I. In his second year was passed the statute of 1604, which remained in force until 1736. The relation of this act to the statute of Elizabeth, which it repealed, becomes a matter of great importance to determine. Here Wright leaves us in the lurch. James, he tells us, "passed a new and severe law against witchcraft,"<sup>29</sup> in which it now became almost a crime to disbelieve."<sup>30</sup> We are led to infer that, whereas Elizabeth's law was mild and hardly objectionable, James's statute was both novel and severe. The facts are quite different. James's statute follows Elizabeth's in the main, even in phraseology. (1) The new statute (like the old) provides death as the penalty for *invocation or conjuration of evil spirits for any purpose and without regard to the issue*. But it inserts two clauses making it also felony to "consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward" any such spirit for any purpose,

was held at the King's Bench (Holinshed, 4. 433). An excessively curious case is that of a woman tried by the mayor of Faversham, Kent, in 1586. The court and jury were convinced that she was not guilty of witchcraft. In order to clear her of the capital charge, a verdict of guilty of invocation and conjuration was brought in. The mayor was about to congratulate the defendant on escaping with her life, when the legal adviser of the corporation informed him that invocation and conjuration amounted to felony, and she was hanged accordingly. Full details are given by John Waller in Holinshed, 4. 891-893.

<sup>29</sup> 1. 284.

<sup>30</sup> As to this latter dictum, it is instructive to observe that in 1578 one Dr. Browne was in trouble because he "spread misliking of the laws, by saying there are no witches" (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda, 1566-1579, p. 551).



or to dig up any dead body, or part thereof, for use in sorcery. (2) For *witchcraft that kills*, death is the penalty (as in the Elizabethan enactment). (3) For *witchcraft that causes bodily harm*, but does not kill, the new law imposes death for the *first* (instead of the *second*) offence. (4) For the *minor varieties* of sorcery and witchcraft, *death* is substituted for *life imprisonment* as the penalty for the second offence.<sup>31</sup> Clearly the statute of 1604 is not so great a novelty as we have been led to think. It is, to be sure, more severe than the Elizabethan enactment, but only in some respects. Let us study the two a little further.

The substitution of *death* for *life imprisonment* as the penalty for the second offence in certain minor grades of sorcery can hardly be called an increase in severity. The appalling state of the prisons is notorious. There was a dreadful outbreak of jail fever at the Oxford assizes in 1579,<sup>32</sup> and another at the Exeter assizes in 1586.<sup>33</sup> Prisoners often died while awaiting trial or execution. In 1608 the Earl of Northampton, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, induced the mayor of Rye to admit to bail a woman condemned to death for aiding and abetting a witch. Her execution had been stayed, and it was feared that she would succumb to the "lothsomness of the prison."<sup>34</sup> Under such conditions, the change from a life-sentence to hanging was rather mercy than rigor.

The penalty for digging up the dead (unknown to the Elizabethan law) was not excessive, in view of the general severity of the penal code. The thing was certainly done now and then. It was a real — not an imaginary — crime, and deserved punishment. However, no case has ever been cited in which a man or woman was put to death for this

<sup>31</sup> There is some difference between the two statutes in defining the minor varieties, but it is slight and not in the direction of severity.

<sup>32</sup> See the extraordinary passage in Webster's Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft, 1677, pp. 245-246.

<sup>33</sup> Walsingham to Leicester (Leycester Correspondence, Camden Society, p. 24); Hooker (alias Vowell), in Holinshed, 4. 868; Thomas Cogan, The Haven of Heath, 1589, pp. 272 ff. See also an important paper on the Black Assizes in the West, by F. Wilcocks, M.D., in Transactions of the Devonshire Association, 16. 595 ff. For Vowell, see Charles Worthy, in the same Transactions, 14. 631 ff. (cf. 11. 442 ff.).

<sup>34</sup> 13th Report of the Commission on Historical MSS., Appendix, Part iv., pp. 139-140.



offence alone, and we may therefore disregard that clause as of no practical effect.

As for the new provision about consulting or covenanting with evil spirits, or feeding them, it was capable of operating with great severity. In fact, however, I do not believe that a single case can be found during James's reign in which anybody suffered death under this clause who was not otherwise liable to the extreme penalty.<sup>35</sup> *Does that excuse same*

There remains, then, one change in the law, and only one, — death for the *first* (instead of the *second*) offence in witchcraft that injures the body without killing, — to justify the common opinion that James's statute of 1604 was so stern an enactment as to make an era in English witch-prosecution.]

[At the outset, candor impels us to inquire whether James's statute was really severe at all. Our judgment must be based, not on our present penal code, but on that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When death was the penalty for stealing a sheep, or breaking into a house, or taking a purse on the highway, or stealing thirteence, was it harsh to hang a witch for driving her neighbor mad or smiting him with epilepsy or paralysis? <sup>36</sup> To object that witches could not do such things is no answer. This objection might hold against the passing of *any law whatever*, but has nothing to do with the question of *severity*. It is quite as silly to fine or imprison a man for an impossible crime as to hang him for it. However, we may waive this point, for we are more directly concerned with the question whether James's law was so much severer than Elizabeth's as to make its passage a momentous event. This is to be tested, of course, by observing how the two laws worked, not by weighing their words.]

To get the perspective, let us look at one of the most no-

<sup>35</sup> A possible exception is Susan Swapper, of Rye. She was condemned in 1607, but I cannot find that she was ever executed. The case is exceedingly curious (see Commission on Historical MSS., 13th Report, Appendix, Part iv., pp. 136-137, 139-140, 144, 147-148). For what happened after 1643, when James had been in his grave a score of years, it is absurdly cruel to hold him accountable.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the observations of Mr. J. W. Brodie-Innes in his interesting brochure on Scottish Witchcraft Trials, pp. 21-24. (Privately Printed Opuscula issued to Members of the Sette of Odd Volumes, No. 25, 1891.)

torious of Elizabethan cases, that of St. Osyth in Essex. One Ursula (or Ursley) Kempe, alias Grey, was a woman of ill repute, who lived, with Thomas Rabbet, her bastard son, in the little village of St. Osith's (now St. Osyth), near Colchester. She had long lain under suspicion of witchcraft. There was sickness in the family of a neighbor, Grace Thurlowe, and Grace fancied that Ursula was to blame. The local magistrate, Brian Darcey, lent a ready ear to her complaint. Witnesses came forward in abundance, and one revelation led to another, as usual. Thomas Rabbet gave evidence against his mother. Ursula confessed her crimes, with many tears. A whole nest of offenders was uncovered, and, in conclusion, no less than thirteen witches were convicted. This was in 1582.<sup>37</sup> The affair made a great noise, and appears to have been the chief immediate impulse to Reginald Scot's famous book, *The Discovery of Witchcraft*.

Of the thirteen persons convicted on this occasion, all but three were found guilty of "bewitching to death," and consequently suffered the extreme penalty under the statute of Elizabeth. James's statute would have hanged the other three as well. To this extent, and to this extent alone, would it have operated more severely than its predecessor.

The St. Osyth tragedy took place about twenty years before James I. succeeded to the English crown. Will it be believed, in the face of the vehement denunciation to which this king is traditionally subjected as a besotted persecutor, that nothing comparable to it occurred in his reign until 1612, when he had been on the throne for nine years? Yet such is the indisputable fact.

An analysis of these Lancashire trials of 1612, on the basis of Thomas Potts's official narrative, yields the following results. Nineteen persons were tried, of whom eight were acquitted. Of the eleven convicted, one (whose offence was the killing of a mare) was sentenced to the pillory. This leaves ten who were hanged.<sup>38</sup> Six of these were indicted

<sup>37</sup> Linton, *Witch Stories*, 1861, pp. 205-221 (from the original narrative by W.W., — *A True and Iust Recorde*, etc., 1582).

<sup>38</sup> *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*. . . . Together with the Arraignement and Triall of Iennet Preston, at . . . Yorke, London, 1613. Cf. *Farington Papers*, Chetham Society, 1856, p. 27. One other died before trial.

for murder by witchcraft, and therefore would have suffered death under Elizabeth's law as surely as under James's. Four, then, were executed who might have got off with imprisonment if the older statute had remained in force. But it is by no means certain that all of the four would actually have escaped the gallows. For there was evidence of murder by witchcraft against two of them, and they might have been tried on that charge if the lesser accusation of driving a woman insane had not sufficed to send them out of the world. There remain but two, therefore, of the eleven convicted, who, so far as we can see, would have been in no danger of death under Elizabethan conditions. And one of these exemptions may be balanced by the case of the woman sent to the pillory for killing a mare, inasmuch as there was testimony that she too had confessed to a couple of murders, so that the prosecutors might have found an excuse for hanging her, even under Elizabeth's statute, if they had so desired. In the same year, Jennet Preston was hanged at York. She was convicted of murder by witchcraft, and would have suffered death by Elizabeth's law. Likewise in 1612, there was an outbreak of prosecution in Northamptonshire, which ended in the execution of five persons. Every one of these, however, had been found guilty of murder by witchcraft.<sup>39</sup> Hence their fate under the statute of James was precisely what it would have been if Elizabeth's statute of 1563 had never been supplanted.

Two facts of immense significance are now clear: first, that James's accession was not the signal for an outbreak of witch prosecution, for he had been on the throne for nine years before any such outbreak occurred; second, that the statute of 1604 was not appreciably more severe, in its practical working in 1612, than the Elizabethan statute would have been at the same time if it had continued in force.

[Before leaving the events of 1612, however, we must inquire whether James had any hand in the prosecutions. The answer is unequivocal. There is not a particle of evidence that he either suggested or encouraged the trials, or, indeed, that he ever heard of the cases until the defendants had been

<sup>39</sup> The Witches of Northamptonshire, 1612 (reprint, 1867).



hanged. A contrary view is sometimes expressed with regard to the Lancaster trials,<sup>40</sup> but there is no foundation for it. The source of the error is nothing more or less than William Harrison Ainsworth's romance entitled *The Lancashire Witches*. This was published in 1849, and appears to have proved more entertaining to some historians than the study of authentic documents.

One of Ainsworth's most amusing characters is Master Thomas Potts, a London lawyer. Potts happens to be in Lancashire on legal business, and, on coming into contact with the rumors and petty intrigues of the neighborhood, grasps the chance to ingratiate himself with King James by gathering evidence and fomenting prosecution. "So there are suspected witches in Pendle Forest, I find," says Master Potts; "I shall make it my business to institute inquiries concerning them, when I visit the place to-morrow. Even if merely ill-reputed, they must be examined, and if found innocent cleared; if not, punished according to the statute. Our sovereign lord the king holdeth witches in especial abhorrence, and would gladly see all such noxious vermin extirpated from the land, and it will rejoice me to promote his laudable designs. . . . He is never so pleased as when the truth of his tenets are proved by such secret offenders being brought to light, and duly punished."<sup>41</sup> And again:—"If I can unearth a pack of witches, I shall gain much credit from my honourable good lords the judges of assize . . . , besides pleasing the King himself, who is sure to hear of it, and reward my praiseworthy zeal."<sup>42</sup>

Ainsworth is quite within his rights as a novelist, but we should not read him as if he were an historian. Potts had nothing to do with getting up the evidence or fomenting the prosecution. He was a London lawyer, or law-writer, who acted as clerk at the Lancaster assizes. Probably he was accompanying the justices on their circuit. At the instance of these justices, as we know, he prepared an official narrative, which was published in 1613 after revision by one of them (Sir Edward Bromley). The king is mentioned only once in this

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, Horley, Sefton, 1893, p. 115, note 1; Roper, *Materials for the History of Lancaster*, Part i., Chetham Society, 1907, pp. 26-27.

<sup>41</sup> 1. 199-200.

<sup>42</sup> 1. 207 (cf. 1. 244, 247).



tract (except, of course, in legal formulas), and that in passing : "What hath the Kings Maiestie written and published in his Dæmonologie, by way of premonition and preuention, which hath not here by the first or last beene executed, put in practise or discouered."<sup>43</sup> If James had known anything about the case, Potts would surely have brought him in.

But we are not done with Ainsworth's contributions to history. In the third volume of the romance he introduces King James in person, talking broad Scots, profoundly impressed by the evidence, causing the witches to be brought into his presence, and urging on the prosecution. These scenes occur while he is the guest of Sir Richard Hoghton at Hoghton Tower.<sup>44</sup> All this is very good fiction indeed. But it should not pass as history. The Pendle witches were hanged in August, 1612. James made a progress that summer, but not in Lancashire. His visit to Hoghton Tower was five years later, in August, 1617.<sup>45</sup>

Ainsworth wrote *The Lancashire Witches* at the suggestion of Mr. James Crossley, to whom he dedicated it. Mr. Crossley was an admirable antiquary, and the world is in his debt for a first-rate edition of Potts's *Discoverie* and for many other things. But, though very learned in the literature of witchcraft, he was far astray in his estimate of James's attitude and in other pertinent matters. He ignores the Elizabethan statute and lays stress on that of James, "enacted," he avers, "as the adulatory tribute of all parties, against which no honest voice was raised, to the known opinions of the monarch."<sup>46</sup> Mr. Crossley could not fail to observe that the passage of the "execrable statute" of 1604 was not followed by an instant fury of prosecution. He knew well that eight years elapsed before anything took place that was at all notable. And this is how he expresses himself: the statute, he suggests, "might have been sharpening its appetite by a temporary fast for the full meal of blood by which it was eventually glutted."<sup>47</sup> This is not merely personification, — it is pure mythology.

<sup>43</sup> Potts, *Wonderfull Discoverie*, sig. T2.

<sup>44</sup> 3. 241 ff.

<sup>45</sup> *Journal of Nicholas Assheton*, ed. Raines, Chetham Society, 1848, pp. 32 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Introduction to his reprint of Potts, Chetham Society, vol. 6, p. xviii.

<sup>47</sup> Introduction to Potts, p. xlv.

The plain and simple truth is this: During the twenty-two years of James's reign (1603-1625), there was no more excitement on the subject of witchcraft, and there were no more executions, than during the last twenty-two years of Elizabeth (1581-1603).<sup>48</sup> James's accession was not in any sense the signal for an outburst of prosecution. As we have just noted, the first bad year was 1612, when he had been on the throne for almost a decade. It is certain that the statute of 1604 was not more severe, in its practical workings, than the statute of Elizabeth.<sup>49</sup> Nor can a single fact be brought forward to prove that James was eager, during his English reign, to multiply the number of victims.

We must now examine the prevalent opinion that the statute of 1604 was passed to please King James or at his instance, or, indeed, that he wrote the bill himself. Most readers will be surprised to learn that not a particle of direct evidence has ever been adduced in favor of any of these propositions. They rest entirely upon assumption or inference. The earliest testimony that I can discover<sup>50</sup> is Hutchinson's, in 1718, — more than a century late; and Hutchinson, *more suo*, is commendably cautious. He does not profess to have any authority for his views. "I cannot forbear thinking" — such are his words — "that it was the King's Book and Judgment, more than any Encrease of Witches, that influenc'd the Parliament to the changing the Old Law."<sup>51</sup> And again, "I cannot but think, that if King *James* himself was not the first Mover and Director in this change of the Statute, yet there might probably be a Design of making Court to the King by it."<sup>52</sup> He frankly labels his theory "the best Guess I can make."<sup>53</sup> The "juryman"

<sup>48</sup> Exact figures are unattainable, but the records are quite as trustworthy for 1603-1625 as for 1581-1603. It is altogether unlikely that a complete scrutiny would bring to light more new cases of execution for the later period than for the earlier.

<sup>49</sup> That is, not more severe during James's reign. For what occurred long after the king's death, he cannot be blamed.

<sup>50</sup> It is to be hoped that what Thomas Cooper says in *The Myserie of Witchcraft*, 1617, p. 7, will not be taken as evidence in favor of the current view. Heretofore it has not been so utilized.

<sup>51</sup> Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft, 1718, p. 179 (ed. 1720, p. 224).

<sup>52</sup> P. 180. Here Hutchinson is referring to a particular part of the statute (about the violation of graves).

<sup>53</sup> P. 178.

(his interlocutor in the dialogue) accepts the theory: "I am the apter to believe this Account; because I have often heard, that our Law did come from thence," that is, from Scotland along with the new king.<sup>54</sup> Dr. William Harris, in his account of James I. (1753), follows Hutchinson, whom he cites, remarking that the statute was "formed out of compliment (as has been well conjectured)."<sup>55</sup> Scott, in 1810, follows Hutchinson, remarking that the statute "probably had its rise in the complaisance of James's first Parliament."<sup>56</sup> By 1829 the tradition had hardened considerably, so that a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* asserted that James "is said to have penned [the statute] himself."<sup>57</sup> So much for the external evidence, — now for the probabilities.

In the first place, the text of the statute is sufficient proof that James did not draft it himself. For it is *not a new law*. It follows, in the main, the Elizabethan statute word for word. At the utmost, James can be suspected of penning only a few phrases. This part of the charge we may therefore dismiss without ceremony. But what of the view that James fathered or fostered the bill, that it was introduced at his instance, or passed with an eye to his favor? Was there, or was there not, such a state of public opinion in England as will account for the statute without our having recourse to the conjecture that it was passed under James's influence or out of complaisance to him?

If this were merely a question of the rank and file of the people, there would be no room for argument. The last few years of Elizabeth's reign abounded in witch prosecutions and were marked by intense popular excitement on the subject. A typical outbreak was that in Devon in 1601 and 1602, when the Trevisard family was complained of before Sir Thomas Ridgeway.<sup>58</sup> But we are now occupied with the lawmakers, who, though constantly exposed to pressure from the populace, may conceivably have preferred the *status quo*. Was there, or was there not, before James's accession, a

<sup>54</sup> P. 180.<sup>55</sup> Pp. 40-41.<sup>56</sup> Somers Tracts, 2d edition, 3. 95.<sup>57</sup> In a series of articles on the Rise and Progress of Witchcraft, containing much valuable material. *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, Popular Superstitions, p. 233.<sup>58</sup> See the original examinations (inedited) in the Harvard College Library.



movement among the better educated classes for a revision of the law and a sharpening of the penalties? To test this question, we may consult four well-known treatises which are seldom scrutinized from this point of view. We will begin with Perkins's Discourse.

→ William Perkins, the eminent theologian, born in 1558, was Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, from 1584 to 1594. He died in 1602, leaving behind him A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft, which was published in 1608 by Thomas Pickering, B.D. of Cambridge, and Minister of Finchingfield, Essex. Pickering dedicated the volume to Coke. Though not issued in the author's lifetime, this treatise is good evidence as to what the views of learned Englishmen were at the turn of the century. Nor was it without influence before Perkins died, for, as the title-page sets forth, the discourse was "framed and delivered" by him "in his ordinarie course of Preaching." It came from the press of the Cambridge University Printer.

Perkins's book is a masterpiece. It is cogently reasoned, and marked by that concise and simple style for which this author was distinguished above his contemporaries. We may shudder at his opinions, but are forced to admire his candor and ability.—Perkins warns his readers against convicting on slender evidence. His virile and methodical intellect draws the line sharply between presumptions that justify suspicion, and proofs that warrant a verdict of guilty.<sup>59</sup> Certain superstitious popular tests he rejects utterly,—such as scratching the witch, and firing the thatch of her cottage, and the ordeal by swimming.<sup>60</sup> Some of these, he declares, "if not all, are after a sort practises of Witchcraft, hauing in them no power or vertue to detect a Sorcerer, either by Gods ordinance in the creation, or by any speciall appointment since." In scouting the water ordeal, Perkins may have had his eye upon King James's defence of it in the *Dæmonologie*. "It appeares," the king had written, "that God hath appointed (for a supernaturall signe of the monstrous impietie of Witches) that the water shall refuse to receiue them in her bosome, that haue shaken off

<sup>59</sup> Pp. 200 ff.

<sup>60</sup> Pp. 206 ff.



them the sacred Water of Baptisme, and wilfully refused the benefite thereof.”<sup>61</sup> Note the brevity and force of Perkins’s refutation:—“To iustifie the casting of a Witch into the water, it is alledged, that hauing made a couenant with the deuill, shee hath renounced her Baptisme, and hereupon there growes an Antipathie betweene her, and water. *Ans.* This allegation serues to no purpose: for all water is not the water of Baptisme, but that onely which is vsed in the very act of Baptisme, and not before nor after. The element out of the vse of the Sacrament, is no Sacrament, but returns again to his common vse.”<sup>62</sup> Let us remark, in passing, that Thomas Pickering, a beneficed clergyman, did not hesitate to publish this unceremonious denial of the king’s argument in 1608, when James had been five years on the throne, and to dedicate the work which contains it to Chief Justice Coke. This may serve to correct, *pro tanto*, the too prevalent opinion that James I. expected his English subjects to receive his *Dæmonologie* as but little, if at all, inferior in authority to the Holy Scriptures.

Our immediate concern, however, is with the general tendency of Perkins’s treatise, and in particular with his precepts as to punishment. He admits the witch dogma in its entirety. The ground of all sorcery is a league or covenant with the devil, which may be either express or implicit. There are two kinds of witchcraft,—namely, divining and working.<sup>63</sup> The second class includes the raising of storms, the poisoning of the air (which brings pestilence), the blasting of corn, “the procuring of strange passions and torments in mens bodies and other creatures, with the curing of the same.”<sup>64</sup> It is an error to hold that melancholia so deludes women that they imagine themselves witches when indeed they are none. Perhaps, after the witch has made her contract with the fiend, she may credit herself with imaginary powers, but the wonders already enumerated she can certainly perform, with Satan’s aid.<sup>65</sup> Thus Perkins opposes himself squarely to Wierus and Scot. His refutation of their theories is solid and convincing, if we

<sup>61</sup> London, Printed for William Apsley and W. Cotton, 1603, p. 80 (misprinted, “64”).

<sup>62</sup> P. 208.

<sup>63</sup> P. 55.

<sup>64</sup> P. 128.

<sup>65</sup> Pp. 191-196.

admit what nobody dreamt of denying, — the existence of evil spirits. His book, indeed, may be taken as a measure of the slight effect which these dissentients had produced on the minds of sixteenth-century Englishmen.

As to the law against witchcraft, Perkins is an invaluable witness. He wrote when the Elizabethan statute was in force, and he was of course not under the sway of King James of Scotland, with whose theories, indeed, we have seen him at outspoken variance. Perkins believes that the law of Moses should continue in force, and that "all Witches beeing thoroughly conuicted by the Magistrate," should be put to death.<sup>66</sup> He expressly declares that this punishment ought to be inflicted not only upon those who kill by means of witchcraft, but upon all witches without any exception whatever, — upon "all Diuiners, Charmers, Iuglers, all Wizzards, commonly called wise men and wise women." He includes in plain terms all so-called "good Witches, which doe no hurt but good, which doe not spoile and destroy, but saue and deliver." Here he uses a really unanswerable argument, which shows in the most striking fashion how ill-equipped we are, with our mild penal laws, to sit in judgment on the severity — whether actual or comparative — of the Jacobean statute. "By the lawes of England," writes Perkins, "the thiefe is executed for stealing, and we think it iust and profitable: but it were a thousand times better for the land, if all Witches, but specially the blessing Witch might suffer death. For the thiefe by his stealing, and the hurtfull Inchanter by charming, bring hinderance and hurt to the bodies and goods of men; but these are the right hand of the deuill, by which he taketh and destroyeth the soules of men. Men doe commonly hate and spit at the damnifying Sorcerer, as vnworthie to liue among them; whereas the other is so deare vnto them, that they hold themselues and their countrey blessed that haue him among them, they flie vnto him in necessitie, they depend vpon him as their god, and by this meanes, thousands are carried away to their finall confusion. Death therefore is the iust and deserued por-

tion of the good Witch." These are the closing words of Perkins's weighty treatise.<sup>67</sup>

Perkins was a vital force in forming English opinion while he was alive, especially during the last decade of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth. Few Cambridge lecturers were more authoritative, and Cambridge was in close contact with public men. He "was buried with great solemnity at the sole charges of *Christs Colledge*, the University and Town striving which should expresse more sorrow at his Funeral; Doctor *Montague* Preached his Funeral Sermon upon that Text, *Moses my Servant is dead.*"<sup>68</sup> This was James Montagu, first Master of Sidney Sussex College, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells (1608) and of Winchester (1616). Bishop Hall, who was at Cambridge while Perkins was active, commends him warmly. "A worthy divine," he calls him, "whose labors are of much note and use in the Church of God."<sup>69</sup> Fuller is also among his admirers.<sup>70</sup> How the Discourse worked when its substance was orally delivered "in his ordinarie course of preaching" may be inferred from the respect with which the printed book is continually cited, — by Cotta, for example, in his *Triall of Witch-craft* (1616).<sup>71</sup> Cotta's treatise is likewise dedicated to Coke.

John Cotta was of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1590, and later of Corpus Christi. He received the degree of M.A. in 1596, and that of M.D. in 1603. His first book appeared in 1612. It contains a good deal about witchcraft. In 1616 he published a systematic treatise, *A Triall of Witch-craft*, of which a second edition came out in 1624. The main object of this work is to prove that any given case of alleged sorcery ought to be examined by methods of the senses and reason, like other objects of investigation. Cotta, then, is on the right side. He follows Wierus in maintaining that

<sup>67</sup> Pp. 256-257. For other expressions of opinion on witchcraft, see Perkins's *Golden Chaine*, ed. 1605, pp. 34-36, and his *Combate betweene Christ and the Diuell*, ed. 1606, pp. 16, 25, 37.

<sup>68</sup> Samuel Clarke, *Life of Perkins* (*Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, Part i., 3d ed., 1675, p. 416); cf. John Manningham's *Diary*, ed. Bruce, Camden Society, p. 104; Fuller, *Holy State*, ed. 1840, p. 71.

<sup>69</sup> Works, Oxford, 1837, 6. 340.

<sup>70</sup> See note 68 above.

<sup>71</sup> Pp. 53, 89, 91, 95.



many so-called bewitched persons are suffering from natural disease. When he wrote he was practising at Northampton, where he had resided ever since he took his medical degree in 1603. His rationalizing attitude was largely the result of his own experience as a physician during this interval.

The whole ground of Cotta's argument is an acceptance of the traditional witch-dogma. He believes that there are witches in plenty; that they make contracts with the devil; that supernatural deeds are performed by the fiend, in which the witch "hath a property and interest" by virtue of her covenant with him; that, in this way, witches may be implicated in afflicting their fellow-creatures with diseases or in causing their death. As concrete examples, we may take the witches of Warboys (1589-1593) and the Lancashire witches (1612), for both of those notorious cases are accepted by Cotta without demur.<sup>72</sup> And, just as he is confident that the guilt of a witch may be discovered with certainty by methods of reason and perception which he develops elaborately, so he is content to leave her to the courts, to be "arraigned and condemned of manifest high treason against Almighty God, and of combination with his open and professed enemy the Diuell."<sup>73</sup> The statute of 1604 was none too rigorous for Dr. Cotta. If these were his sentiments in 1616, when he was writing a cautionary and corrective treatise, we may be certain that his views were quite as orthodox at the turn of the century, when he was still at the University of Cambridge and subject to the influence of Perkins, whom he cites with so much respect.

From Cambridge we turn to Oxford. Thomas Cooper, of Christ Church, was A.B. in 1590, A.M. in 1593, B.D. in 1600. In 1601 he was presented by his college to a living in Cheshire, which he resigned in 1604. From 1604 to 1610 he was vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry.<sup>74</sup> His volume entitled The Mystery of Witch-craft was not published until 1617, but it embodies information enough about the author's

<sup>72</sup> Pp. 77, 90.

<sup>73</sup> P. 80.

<sup>74</sup> Ormerod, County of Chester, ed. Helsby, 1. 611; Joseph Welch, List of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, ed. Phillimore, p. 59; Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, 1. 325; Dictionary of National Biography; Cooper, Mystery, sig. A2.



experiences and opinions in the time preceding the accession of James to make it available for our present purposes. Cooper's acquaintance with magic began while he was a student at Oxford. There was a time, he tells us, when he "admired some in the Vniuersitie famozed in that skill." "Did not," he exclaims, — "did not the Lord so dispose of mee, that my *Chamber-fellow* was exceedingly bewitched with these faire shewes, and hauing gotten diuers bookes to that end, was earnest in the pursuit of that glorie which might redound thereby? Did not wee communicate our Studies together? was not this skill proposed and canuased in common? And did not the Lord so arme his vnworthy seruant, that not onely the snare was graciously espied; but, by the great mercie of my God, the Lord vsed mee as a meanes to diuert my *Chamber-fellow* from these dangerous studies?"<sup>75</sup> Thus we learn that when Cooper received his Cheshire living, in 1601, he was deeply impressed with the horror of dealing with devils. Between this date and 1610 he had several encounters with witchcraft, — at Northwich (near Chester), in Lancashire, and at Coventry.<sup>76</sup> Some of these are perhaps too late for us to use, but the Northwich incident falls in 1601 and 1602.<sup>77</sup> At all events, we are safe in believing that the sentiments which Cooper expresses in his volume do not differ appreciably from those which he entertained before James's accession. Now Cooper agrees in all essentials and in most particulars with Perkins, from whom he borrows largely without due acknowledgment.<sup>78</sup> Writing after the passage of the statute of 1604, he rejoices that the law has been made severer.<sup>79</sup> Yet he is not satisfied. Like Perkins, he holds that "the *Blessor or good Witch* . . . is farre more dangerous then the *Badde or hurting Witch*,"<sup>80</sup> and that both kinds ought to be extirpated. Thus it ap-

<sup>75</sup> Pp. 12-13.<sup>76</sup> Sig. A3, A4, p. 13.<sup>77</sup> Deacon and Walker refer to the case in their *Summarie Answer* to Darrel, 1601, p. 237. Darrel, in *A Survey of Certain Dialogical Discourses*, 1602, p. 54, gives the boy's name ("*Tho. Harison of North Wych in Ches shire*"), and says that he is "at this present very greuously vexed by Sathan."<sup>78</sup> Compare, for instance, Cooper, pp. 52-55, with Perkins, pp. 19-22, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34; Cooper, pp. 64-65, with Perkins, pp. 41-43; Cooper, p. 68, with Perkins, pp. 47-48; Cooper, pp. 128-133, 136, with Perkins, pp. 55-67, 73, 92, 104.<sup>79</sup> P. 314.<sup>80</sup> P. 232.

pears that Cooper, though he wrote after the passage of the statute of 1604, may serve as a witness to the opinions that prevailed among many of the clergy at about the turn of the century.

Our fourth witness is a very strong one, and his testimony is not complicated by inferences about dates. He is George Giffard, another Oxford man. Giffard's Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts was first published in 1593, — a year otherwise notable in the annals of English sorcery, as we shall see in a moment. It was reissued in 1603, three years after his death.<sup>81</sup> Giffard was an eminent preacher of Maldon, in Essex. He passes for one of the earliest opponents of the witchcraft delusion, and with some reason, for he held that sickness and death ascribed to witchcraft were due to natural causes, he repudiated spectral and hearsay evidence, and he argued against convicting anybody except on conclusive testimony. Yet it never entered his head to deny the existence of witches or to doubt that they have dealings with the fiend. He tells us that the times were devil-haunted. "It falleth out in many places euen of a sudden, as it seemeth to me, and no doubt by the heauie iudgement of God, that the Diuels as it were let loose, do more preuaile, then euer I haue heard of. . . . Satan is now heard speake, and beleueed. He speaketh by coniurers, by sorcerers, and by witches, and his word is taken. He deuiseeth a number of things to be done, & they are put in practise and followed."<sup>82</sup> Giffard is here speaking in his own person. Elsewhere in the dialogue he gives us a first-rate account of the popular terror. One of the interlocutors is "Samuel," an honest and well-to-do goodman. "They say," declares Samuel, "there is scarce any towne or village in all this shire, but there is one or two witches at the least in it."<sup>83</sup> And the annals of Essex bear out Samuel's views. Thirteen witches, as we have seen, were convicted and ten

<sup>81</sup> The Dictionary of National Biography and Dr. Usher date Giffard's death 1620. But he was doubtless the George Giffard of Maldon whose will was proved in 1600 (Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society, New Series, 7. 46). For Giffard's connection with the Classical Movement of 1573-1592, see R. G. Usher, Presbyterian Movement, 1905, pp. xli, 9, 16, 19, 42, 94. For Giffard's reputation see D'Ewes, Autobiography, ed. Halliwell, 1. 114.

<sup>82</sup> Dedicatory Epistle.

<sup>83</sup> Ed. 1603, sig. A 3.

of them hanged at Chelmsford in 1582, and there were other executions there in 1579 and 1589. It was an outbreak in that same neighborhood in 1645 that started Matthew Hopkins on his career; and the evidence and confessions went back, in some instances for twenty, and even thirty years.<sup>84</sup> Giffard was a man of unusual humanity and strong common sense, as his book shows. Yet he was heartily in favor of a severer law than the statute of Elizabeth. The following passage from his Dialogue is a precious document for our present purposes. "Daniel" is the speaker who presents Giffard's own views; "M. B." is a schoolmaster.

*Dan.* A witch by the word of God ought to die the death, not because she killeth men, for that she cannot (vnles it be those witches which kill by poyson, which either they receiue from the diuell, or hee teacheth them to make) but because she dealeth with diuels. And so if a Iurie doe finde prooffe that she hath dealt with diuels, they may and ought to finde them guiltie of witchcraft.

*M. B.* If they finde them guiltie to haue dealt with diuels, and cannot say they haue murdered men, the law doth not put them to death.

*Dan.* It were to be wished, that the law were more [p]erfect in that respect, euen to cut off all such abominations. These cunning men and women which deale with spirites and charmes seeming to doe good, and draw the people into manifold impieties, with all other which haue familiarity with deuels, or vse coniurations, ought to bee rooted out, that others might see and feare. (Sig. K3.)

Here we have a highly intelligent preacher, a man of real influence, pressing for precisely that change in the law — the extension of the death penalty to witchcraft that produces bodily injury without death — which was actually embodied in the statute of 1604. And Giffard, like Perkins, condemns the "white witch" utterly. The evidence speaks for itself.

Perkins's Discourse and Giffard's Dialogue are strongly contrasted works. Giffard addresses his teaching to the unlearned: he throws his book into the form of a conversation (so he tells us) "to make it fitter for the capacity of the simpler sort." Perkins, on the other hand, writes for educated persons, — for those who can follow a close-knit scholastic argument. Giffard's aim is to free the minds of

<sup>84</sup> A True and Exact Relation of the severall Informations [etc.] of the late Witches, 1645, pp. 8, 15, 32, 34.



the common people from needless terrors and to prevent the shedding of innocent blood. Perkins, though he warns his readers (as Giffard does) against condemning on slender evidence, is chiefly bent on defending the witchcraft dogma against the assaults of Wierus and Reginald Scot. Yet both Giffard and Perkins hold tenaciously to the inherited belief. There are such things as witches; they do ally themselves with the devil; they should be punished. And in this matter of the penalty — which is our chief concern at the moment — Giffard and Perkins are in perfect accord. Both maintain that *all witches ought to be put to death, irrespective of the question whether they have killed men by their arts or not.* In other words, the Elizabethan statute seemed to them insufficient, and they urged the enacting of a law of greater severity. Could there be more illuminating evidence? Nothing can be clearer than that, about the turn of the century, before Elizabeth was dead and James had taken her place, there was strong pressure for a revision of the witchcraft law, and for revision in the direction taken by the statute of 1604. This was the kind of pressure to which the legislators yielded — nothing loth, to be sure. They were not browbeaten by King James, nor did they vote with an eye to the royal favor. They followed their own consciences, incited by the feelings of the populace and stimulated by the exhortations of the gravest counsellors they knew.

The four books that we have just examined would suffice to prove, even if there were no other evidence, that the accession of James found the English public — both in its educated and its uneducated classes — deeply impressed with the actuality of witchcraft as an ever-present menace to soul and body, intensely excited on the subject, and pressing hard for the extermination of witches.<sup>85</sup> But there is other evidence in plenty. The records from 1582 to 1603 abound in specific cases. Two items call for particular notice: the Darrel affair (1586–1601), and the affair of the Witches of Warboys (1589–1593). There is a close psychological connection between them.

<sup>85</sup> The general anxiety of Englishmen as Elizabeth's death drew nigh is graphically described by Dekker, *The Wonderfull Yeare*, 1603 (Works, ed. Grosart, 1. 94–96). Such crises are always favorable to outbreaks of witch-prosecution.



John Darrel, a Cambridge graduate, was a Puritan preacher in Derbyshire when (in 1586) he began his career as a caster-out of devils. In 1598 he was summoned before an ecclesiastical commission over which Archbishop Whitgift presided. Bishop Bancroft and Chief Justice Anderson were members of the commission. More than forty witnesses were called. Some of the demoniacs confessed fraud, and Darrel, with his associate George More, was convicted of imposture and imprisoned.<sup>86</sup> There had been an uproar over the possessions and the exorcisms, and popular opinion sided with Darrel. Samuel Harsnet, the cleverest of Bishop Bancroft's chaplains, was delegated to write up the case. His famous *Discovery* came out in 1599, and was expected to overwhelm Darrel with ridicule and odium. In the long run it has had this result, for Darrel is usually treated nowadays as an impostor. But it had no such effect at the time. Both Darrel and More wrote long replies, and printed them surreptitiously in defiance of the authorities.

Bancroft soon discovered that Harsnet's skirmishing was not sufficient, and he brought his heavy troops into action. Two treatises, of unimaginable ponderosity in style and matter, each elaborated in concert by two preachers, John Deacon and John Walker, came out in 1601.<sup>87</sup> Harsnet had railed and ridiculed and "exposed," but he had steered clear of dialectics. Deacon and Walker toiled to supply the desideratum. Using all the scholastic machinery, they tried to prove, by logic and Scripture, that there is no such thing as demoniacal possession nowadays, and that Darrel's demoniacs were either counterfeiting or else afflicted with natural diseases. Darrel promptly replied to both books, printing his answers surreptitiously, as before.

Strange as it may seem, Darrel has the best of the argument. For his opponents admit both too little and too much. They admit too little, since they wish the fits to appear fraudulent, whereas these were, beyond a shadow of doubt, genuine hysteria, of which lying and imposture are well-recognized symptoms. Darrel was sharp enough to see that, as managed by his opponents, the hypothesis of fraud

<sup>86</sup> Harsnet, *Discovery*, 1599, pp. 8-9.

<sup>87</sup> *Summarie Answer, and Dialogicall Discourses.*

and the hypothesis of disease thwarted each other, and left some kind of demonic assault in possession of the field. They admit too much, because they themselves grant the existence of evil spirits of vast power (nay, take pains to demonstrate their existence), and because they accept demoniacal possession as a fact in ancient times, though they reject it for the present age. This rejection was, of course, quite arbitrary, and their attempts to justify it from Scripture were pitifully weak. Darrel could appeal to facts and experience. His patients had manifested the same symptoms as the demoniacs of old, and it was obviously absurd to force a distinction. If the afflicted persons in Bible times were possessed with devils, then his patients were possessed with devils; and if he had relieved them (as he surely had), then there was no reason which Deacon and Walker could make valid to reject the corollary of dispossession.

But what connection has this strange affair with witchcraft? Here we must walk circumspectly, for misapprehensions are rife. It is often inferred that Bancroft and Harsnet, because they denounced Darrel and his patients as tricksters, had no belief in witchcraft. This is a false conclusion. A demoniac is not necessarily bewitched. He may owe his dire condition to some witch's malice, or, on the other hand, the devil may have assailed him immediately, without a witch's agency. Further, there are many evil things done by witches which have no reference to demoniacal possession. In all of Darrel's cases, to be sure, witches were accused. To some extent, then, Bancroft and his assistants were, in effect, attempting to discredit the witch dogma, since they were attacking the genuineness, or the diabolical origin, of certain phenomena ascribed, in these particular instances, to witchcraft. But (and we cannot be too careful in making the distinction) *they did not deny either the existence or the criminality of witches in general*, any more than they denied the existence of wicked spirits. They strove to explode the theory of demoniacal possession; but they did not attack the witchcraft dogma. Indeed, they took care to avoid committing themselves on that head. For, even if they had no faith in the dogma, they knew that to assail it would throw them out of court, inasmuch as the belief in

witchcraft was, in some form or other, universal among all classes and all persuasions.

Further, Bancroft and his aids, in their opposition to Darrel, were not espousing the cause of alleged witches, — or, if so, they were doing it in a purely incidental way. Their object was quite definite and unconcealed. They were warring against the Puritans<sup>88</sup> and the Roman Catholics, whom they regarded as foes to Church and State. Puritan preachers and Roman Catholic priests both professed to cast out devils. In Bancroft's eyes these were absurd pretensions. Yet the people and many of the clergy were much impressed. There was danger ahead, so the Bishop thought. A vigorous campaign was necessary. But the campaign was political and ecclesiastical, not humanitarian. Its aim was not to save witches, but to crush exorcists.<sup>89</sup>

Here is a significant bit of evidence on this point. In 1602 Mary Glover, the daughter of a merchant in Thames Street, had weird seizures, which she attributed to the malign spells of Elizabeth Jackson. The neighbors were eager to prosecute, but a physician informed Chief Justice Anderson that "the maid did counterfeit." Anderson directed Sir John Croke (Recorder of London) to summon the girl to his chamber in the Temple and test the matter. Croke

<sup>88</sup> "Phantastical giddy-headed Puritans" Archbishop Matthew Hutton of York calls them in a letter to Whitgift, Oct. 1, 1603 (Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, 1718, p. 570).

<sup>89</sup> The exorcisms of the Jesuit Edmunds (alias Weston) and his associates in 1585 and 1586 were similarly attacked by Bancroft and Harsnet. See Harsnet's famous diatribe, *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*, 1603 (2d edition, 1605). The Roman Catholics were no more convinced in this case than the Puritans were in that of Darrel (see the references to Ypez and others in Mr. T. G. Law's article on Devil-Hunting in Elizabethan England, in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1894, 35. 397 ff.). On Sir George Peckham, who was involved in this affair, see Merriman, *American Historical Review*, 17, 492 ff. Compare Sir George Courthop on the Nuns of Loudun (*Memoirs, Camden Miscellany*, 11. 106-109); see also Evelyn's *Diary*, August 5, 1670.

Darrel's opponents did their best to stigmatize his principles and practices with regard to demoniacal possession as identical with those of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus Deacon and Walker, speaking of Darrel, inform their readers that "he hath for a season (though feare and shame enforceth him now to pluck in his head) very prowdlie *ietted* from cuntry to cuntry like a pettie new *Pope* among his owne *Cardinals*; yea and that also in his *pontificalities*, portrayed and contriued after the *new-found popelike cut*" (*Summarie Answere*, 1601, Address to the Reader).



did so in 1603, having both the maid and the witch present, with divers neighbors and certain ministers. He was convinced, by various drastic tests, that there was no imposture, and committed Mother Jackson to Newgate. At the Recorder's instance, several ministers undertook to relieve the girl by fasting and prayer. They were completely successful. One of them, Lewis Hughes, was despatched to Bishop Bancroft with the tidings. He was not well received. "I . . . could have no audience," he writes, "and for my paines I was called Rascall and varlot, and sent to the Gatehouse, where hee kept me foure moneths." <sup>90</sup> But Mother Jackson was arraigned and convicted in due course. Bancroft, we observe, was certain that this was not demoniacal possession, and he imprisoned the exorciser. But he made no effort, so far as we can learn, to rescue the witch. He left her to the courts with a good conscience.

This episode fell just after the so-called exposure of Darrel. The date makes it instructive. The Recorder, we note, was still a believer in possession, despite the arguments of Bancroft's literary bureau, and so were many (perhaps most) of the clergy. Indeed, we must not too hastily assume that all the bishops even were ready to subscribe to Bancroft's extreme tenets. Take the case of Thomas Harrison, the Boy of Northwich, in Cheshire. His fits began in 1600 or 1601 and lasted a year or two. He was kept for ten days in the Bishop of Chester's palace and carefully watched, but no fraud was detected. The Bishop (Richard Vaughan) and three other commissioners issued an order that, "for [his] ease and deliverance" from "his grievous afflictions," public prayers should be offered for him in the parish church "before the congregation so oft as the same assembleth." They delegated seven clergymen to visit him by turns, and "to use their discretions by private prayer and fasting, for the ease and comfort of the afflicted." Some held, this

<sup>90</sup> *Certaine Grievances*, 1641, p. 20. See George Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, 1685, Relation XII (reprint, 1871, pp. 95-100; cf. Ferguson, *Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 3, 56-57); *Commission on Historical MSS.*, 8th Report, Appendix, Part i., p. 228. An account of the affair, by George Swan, was published in 1603, under the title, *A True and Brief Report*, etc. On Lewis Hughes see Kittredge, George Stirk, *Minister* (reprinted from the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*), 1910, pp. 18-21.

document informs us, "that the child [was] really possessed of an uncleane spirit." This Bishop Vaughan and the other commissioners doubted. But they did not think he was shamming. They had "seene the bodily affliction of the said child," and observed in sundry fits very strange effects and operations, they tell us, "either proceeding of natural vn-knowne causes, or of some diabolical practise."<sup>91</sup> And Harvey, one of the clergymen appointed by the Bishop to fast and pray, wrote to a friend that nothing like the "passions [*i.e.* sufferings], behavior, and speeches" of the boy had "ever come under his observation or occurred in his reading." "Few that have seene the variety of his fits, but they thinke the divell hath the disposing of his body. Myselfe have divers times seene him, and such things in him as are impossible to proceed from any humane creature. The matter hath affected our whole country. The Divines with us generally hold, that the child is really possessed."<sup>92</sup> A contemporary memorandum assures us that once, when the Bishop was praying with him, "the Boy was so outrageous, that he flew out of his bed, and so frightened the Bishops men, that one of them fell into a sown, and the Bishop was glad to lay hold on the boy, who ramped at the Window to have gotten out."<sup>93</sup>

Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Exeter (1627) and of Norwich (1641), in disputing with a Belgian priest in 1605, asserted roundly that "in our church, we had manifest proofs of the ejection of devils by fasting and prayer."<sup>94</sup> Hall was a firm believer in witchcraft and approved of the statute of 1604.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Darrel, *Replie*, 1602, p. 21.

<sup>92</sup> Darrel, pp. 21-22.

<sup>93</sup> John Bruen's memoranda, in William Hinde's *Life of John Bruen* (born 1560, died 1625), in Samuel Clarke, *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, Part ii., Book ii., 1675, p. 95. Bruen (who was a Cheshire man) was an eyewitness of the boy's fits, and his notes, as excerpted by Hinde, give a good idea of his ravings (pp. 94-96). The boy cried out against "the witch," but I do not find that anybody was brought to trial.

<sup>94</sup> *Autobiography*, Works, ed. Hall (1837), 1. xxi. Hall may have had in mind the case reported by Bishop Parkhurst in a letter to Bullinger, June 29, 1574 (*Zurich Letters*, ed. Hastings Robinson, 1842, No. 118, translation, p. 118, original, p. 178).

<sup>95</sup> Works, 6. 136-137; 7. 245-246; *Contemplations*, Works, ed. 1628, pp. 1134-1135.

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[And now we will go back a few years in order to see what the bishops and the judges thought, and how they acted, when a case combining demoniacal possession with witchcraft was not complicated by Puritan or Roman Catholic exorcism. Let us examine, as briefly as may be, the celebrated case of the Witches of Warboys. The story has been told again and again, but its actual bearing on the history of English witch prosecution has never been pointed out. The Warboys case lasted from 1589, when the fits of the afflicted persons began, until 1593, when the witches were hanged.

Robert Throckmorton, Esquire, was a Huntingdonshire gentleman of excellent family and connections. He was of Ellington, but had removed to Warboys shortly before our story begins. Both these places are near the county town, and therefore not far from Cambridge. The disturbance began in November, 1589, when Jane, Mr. Throckmorton's daughter, a girl of about ten years, was attacked with violent hysteria. In her fits, she called out against Mother Samuel, an aged neighbor. Two first-rate physicians of Cambridge were consulted, Dr. Barrow (a friend of Mr. Throckmorton's) and Master Butler. The latter was, I suppose, William Butler (1535-1618) of Clare Hall, of whom Aubrey tells several amusing anecdotes. Aubrey informs us that he "never tooke the degree of Doctor, though he was the greatest physician of his time."<sup>96</sup> Both Barrow and Butler were baffled, and Barrow ascribed the fits to witchcraft, remarking that he himself "had some experience of the mallice of some witches."<sup>97</sup> This speech is worth noting, for it throws light on the state of mind of university men. Within two months, Mistress Jane's four sisters — ranging in age from nine to fifteen years — were similarly attacked, and they all cried out against Mother Samuel. This affliction lasted until April, 1593, or about three years and a half. In the interval six or seven womenservants (for the Throckmorton ménage was of course somewhat unstable) suffered from just such fits, — and also the wife of one of the girls' maternal uncles, Mr. John Pickering of

<sup>96</sup> Brief Lives, ed. Clark, 1. 138.

<sup>97</sup> The Witches of Warboys, 1593, sig. B2 r<sup>o</sup>.



Ellington. Mother Samuel was believed to be the cause of it all. Yet the children's parents acted with exemplary caution. They had no wish to prosecute Mother Samuel, but treated her kindly and gave their attention to caring for the girls and urging her to confess. Her confession and repentance, it was hoped, would put an end to the fits.

About Christmas, 1592, Mother Samuel admitted her guilt. Even then there was no immediate thought of bringing her to justice. She was in great distress of mind, and both Mr. Throckmorton and Dr. Dorington, the parson of Warboys, exerted themselves to give her Christian consolation as a repentant sinner. However, she almost immediately retracted, whereupon Mr. Throckmorton, losing patience at last, took her before the Bishop of Lincoln (William Chaderton) and certain justices. She again made admission of guilt. Soon after the girls fell into their fits afresh, and they now accused the old woman of the death of Lady Cromwell, the second wife of Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrook, the great landowner of those parts, known for his splendor as the Golden Knight.

The Cromwells and the Throckmortons were friends, and, in September, 1590, Lady Cromwell, being then at Ramsey, only two miles from Warboys, had made a call of sympathy on the family. Mother Samuel, who lived next door, had been summoned. The Samuels were Sir Henry's tenants, and the lady spoke roughly to the old woman, accusing her of witchcraft, and snatched off her cap and clipped off a lock of her hair. This she told Mistress Throckmorton to burn. Mother Samuel uttered some words which, when later remembered, passed for the *damnum minatum*. That night Lady Cromwell was strangely attacked, and she died after an illness of a year and a quarter, — that is, about the beginning of 1592. Nobody appears to have connected Mother Samuel with her death until, in 1593, the afflicted girls charged her with it in their ravings. They extended the accusation to John Samuel, her husband, and Agnes, her daughter. All three were tried at Huntingdon before Justice Fenner on April 5th, 1593. Mother Samuel confessed, and, with her husband and daughter, was hanged, according to the Elizabethan statute. There was no doubt of their

guilt in anybody's mind. Mother Samuel herself thought the girls bewitched, and old Samuel was finally convinced that his wife was guilty.

Several causes combined to make this the most momentous witch-trial that had ever occurred in England. The long continuance of the phenomena and the station of the victims were alone sufficient to give the affair wide currency. The family was connected with many persons of importance. Mr. Robert Throckmorton was related to the Warwickshire and the Gloucestershire Throckmortons. One of his first cousins, also named Robert, lived at Brampton, Northants, close by, and often witnessed the girls' fits. The girls' maternal uncle, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Gilbert Pickering of Tichmarsh, and his brothers, John and Henry, were deeply interested, and gave evidence at the assizes. So did Dr. Francis Dorington, the Warboys rector, who was the husband of Mr. Throckmorton's sister. Robert Poulter, vicar of Brampton, another witness, was also connected with the family.<sup>98</sup> Francis Cromwell, Sir Henry's brother, was one of the justices to whom Mother Samuel confessed. The Cromwells were among the best-known commoners in the kingdom. Dr. Dorington's brother John, a Londoner, visited the children in their attacks, and of course he talked of the affair in the capital.

The connections with Cambridge were also very intimate. The physicians consulted by Mr. Throckmorton, as we have noticed, lived there, and they were both university men. Dr. Francis Dorington, the parson of Warboys, who had married Mr. Throckmorton's sister, and Thomas Nutt, the vicar of Ellington, were also Cambridge graduates.<sup>99</sup> Both were deeply interested in the case, and gave evidence at the trial. Henry Pickering, one of the children's maternal

<sup>98</sup> See the Throckmorton pedigree (drawn up by Robert Throckmorton himself in 1613) in Charles's Visitation of the County of Huntingdon, ed. Ellis, Camden Society, 1849, pp. 123-124, and the Pulter pedigree, in the same, p. 101. Cf. the Pickering pedigree in Bridges, Northamptonshire, 2. 383-385.

<sup>99</sup> Dorington was A.B. 1555, Fellow of St. Catherine's College 1558, A.M. 1559, S. T. B. Queen's College 1565, S.T.P. 1575. Nutt matriculated at Peterhouse 1568; he was A.B. 1573, A.M. 1577. For this information, as well as the university record of Henry and Thomas Pickering (the editor of Perkins's Discourse), I am indebted to the kindness of the Registry, Dr. J. N. Keynes, and the good offices of Professor Skeat.

uncles, was at Christ's College when the fits began.<sup>100</sup> He not only visited the Throckmortons in 1590, "being then a Scholler of Cambridge," and stayed there three or four days, but he took two other scholars of his acquaintance to see the witch, and we have a pretty full account of the interview. Mr. Pickering was fully persuaded that Goody-Samuel was a witch. Being somewhat moved, he told her that "there was no way to preuent the iudgements of God, but by her confession and repentance: which if she did not in time, he hoped one day to see her burned at a stake, and he himselfe would bring fire and wood, and the children should blowe the coales."<sup>101</sup> This Mr. Henry Pickering became, in 1597, rector of Aldwinckle All Saints, in Northamptonshire. His daughter Mary married Erasmus Dryden (son of Sir Erasmus), and became the mother of the illustrious poet, who was born at the parsonage house of Aldwinckle All Saints in 1631.<sup>102</sup> Thus it appears that the five tormented Throckmorton girls were first cousins of the poet's mother, and that Mrs. Throckmorton was his great-aunt. We note that William Perkins, whose treatise on witchcraft we have examined, was a fellow of Christ's College during most of the time when these fits were going on. It is curious, too, that the publisher of Perkins's posthumous treatise (another Cambridge man) was Thomas Pickering,<sup>103</sup> doubtless a relative, though we cannot be certain of that. Both Sir Henry Cromwell and his son Oliver had been at the university.

The Warboys case, then, demonstrably produced a deep

<sup>100</sup> Henry Pickering was a younger son of Sir Gilbert Pickering, Knight, of Tichmarsh, Northamptonshire. He matriculated at Christ's College, as a Pensioner, March 16, 1582-3, was A.B. 1586, A.M. 1590, and incorporated at Oxford 1593 (see note 99, above).

<sup>101</sup> *Witches of Warboys*, sig. E3.

<sup>102</sup> The year when Pickering became rector of Aldwinckle All Saints, and the date of his death (1637, aged 75), were first correctly given (from his tombstone) by Mr. W. D. Christie in the *Globe Edition of Dryden's Poetical Works*, 1870, p. xvi., note †.

<sup>103</sup> Thomas Pickering was admitted at Emmanuel College as a Pensioner in 1589. He was A.B. 1592, A.M. and Fellow 1596, B.D. 1603. He became Vicar of Finch-  
ingfield, Essex, March 9, 1605-6, and died there in 1625. For these facts I am indebted to the Registry of the University, Dr. J. N. Keynes, and to Mr. J. B. Peace, Bursar of Emmanuel. His marriage license was issued May 4, 1611; his will was proved 1627, and administration was granted March 13, 1625-6 (*Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society*, New Series, 6. 299).



and lasting impression on the class that made laws. The gentlemen concerned were not ignorant country squires in the remote districts; they were intelligent, well-educated men, in close contact with one of the universities and with the capital.

Nor was the impression allowed to die out. It was perpetuated in two ways — by a remarkable book and by a permanent foundation. The presiding judge, Edward Fenner, was so much struck by what he had seen and heard (for the children had their fits in his presence) that he joined with others to further the publication of a narrative, — *The Most Strange and Admirable Discoverie of the Three Witches of Warboys*, — which was printed in London in 1593. Full notes had been kept from the outset (as befitted the intelligence and education of the families concerned) and these were used by the author. This is no mere catchpenny tract. It is a careful and temperate report of the girls' malady from first to last. Nothing comparable to it, considered as a report on a long-continued case of epidemic hysteria, had ever appeared in England. The details, at which modern writers on witchcraft are wont to jeer, are no more ridiculous than the details in recent and esteemed treatises on *la grande hystérie*, or on multiple personality. That it kept the Warboys case alive long after the accession of James I. is certain, for Dr. John Cotta, in 1616 and again in 1624, refers to the "Treatise of the Witches of Warbozys" as authoritative.<sup>104</sup> He had no doubt whatever that the Throckmorton girls were bewitched.<sup>105</sup>

Finally, Sir Henry Cromwell took effectual measures for

<sup>104</sup> Trial of Witch-craft, 1616, p. 77.

<sup>105</sup> Samuel Harsnet, when in full cry after Darrel, did not venture to attack the Warboys case directly. True, he refers slightly to the printed narrative as a "silly book," but in the same breath he suggests that one of Darrel's patients had taken a leaf out of it. And Darrel, in replying, taunts Harsnet with not daring to assail the case openly. That Mr. Throckmorton's children, says Darrel, "were tormented by the diuell, even 5. of his daughters, it is notoriously knowne, and so generally receaued for truth, as the *Dis[coverer]*. himselfe [*i.e.* Harsnet] dareth not deny it, though fayne he would, as appeareth by his nibling at them" (*Detection of Harshnet*, 1600, p. 39; cf. pp. 20–22, 36, 40). And again, he does not hesitate to declare that Harsnet refrained from accusing the Throckmorton girls of counterfeiting because he did not dare: "He thought it best and meet for his safety becaus they were the children of an Esquire, not to say so in plaine tearmes" (p. 21).

perpetuating the impression made by the long-continued phenomena, the trial, and the book. Certain goods and chattels of the executed felons were forfeited to him as lord of the manor. He disdained to keep the money and wished to devote it to public uses. Hence he established an annual sermon at Huntingdon, to be delivered by a fellow of his own college, Queen's of Cambridge. The appointee was to "preache and invaye against the detestable practice, synne, and offence of witchcraft, inchantment, charm, and sorcerye." The sermon was maintained until 1812, but toward the end its burden was turned to the explosion of the old belief.<sup>106</sup>

And now, when we come to apply what we have observed of the state of educated public opinion and to estimate its presumable effect on the legislators of 1604, who passed the revised statute, we are struck with a fact which all investigators have overlooked or ignored. *Two gentlemen were sitting in the House of Commons who had the strongest personal interest in the Warboys case.* The Samuels had been hanged, not for tormenting the Throckmorton girls,<sup>107</sup> but for bewitching Lady Cromwell to death. As we run our eye down the list of Members of Parliament, it is arrested by two names, — Sir Oliver Cromwell and Henry Cromwell, — one the member for the County of Huntingdon, the other for the borough. These were sons of that Sir Henry whose wife had died (as all believed) from Mother Samuel's arts, and who had founded a sermon in perpetual memory of the murder.

Both Sir Oliver and Henry Cromwell might therefore be presumed to have an effective knowledge of the case. But we are not left to conjecture. Their uncle, Francis Cromwell, was one of the justices to whom Goody Samuel confessed.<sup>108</sup> Mr. Henry Cromwell himself had visited the Throckmorton house with one of Sir Henry's men and had observed two of the girls in their fits.<sup>109</sup> This was in 1593, shortly before the actual trial, and after the girls had begun to accuse the Samuels of Lady Cromwell's murder. As for

<sup>106</sup> J. H. Gray, *Queen's College*, 1899, pp. 128-129.

<sup>107</sup> That offence, under the Elizabethan statute, was punishable only by imprisonment and the pillory, for none of the girls had died.

<sup>108</sup> Sig. I r°; cf. sig. P 2 v°.

<sup>109</sup> Sig. N3.

Sir Oliver, his wife had accompanied her mother-in-law on the fatal visit to the Throckmortons, and had been present at her interview with Goody Samuel. That night, Lady Cromwell was "strangly tormented in her sleep, by a cat (as she imagined) which mother Samuel had sent vnto her." Mistress Oliver Cromwell was sleeping in the same bed (her husband being from home), and was awakened by the "strugling and striuing of the Lady . . . and mournfull noise, which shee made speaking to the cat, and to mother Samuel." Mistress Oliver roused her mother-in-law, who told her all about her dream. Lady Cromwell had no more sleep that night, and soon after sickened, as already told.<sup>110</sup> We may be sure that when Mr. Oliver Cromwell returned, he was put in full possession of both ladies' experiences. Surely neither Sir Oliver Cromwell nor his brother stood in need of instruction in the witch dogma from James I., or required any royal influence to persuade them to vote for the statute of 1604.

It is worth while to follow the clue a little farther, and to glance at the parliamentary history of the statute. Most writers have been quite innocent of any knowledge that it even had such a history. Yet there it stands in the Lords' and Commons' Journals, and an instructive history it is.

The bill originated in the House of Lords. The first reading took place on March 27, 1604. On the 29th it was read a second time and referred to a committee consisting of six earls, sixteen other peers, and twelve bishops. The committee was to have the most expert advice conceivable, and to that end an imposing array of legal talent, learning, and experience was requested "to attend the Lords" in their deliberations. Here is the list: the Chief Justice of Common Pleas (Anderson), the Chief Baron of the Exchequer (Sir William Peryam), two justices of the King's Bench (Sir Christopher Yelverton and David Williams), Serjeant Croke, the Attorney-General (Coke), and Sir John Tindall, a distinguished ecclesiastical lawyer. Nor was all this a mere flourish. The committee and its eminent counsel took their duties seriously. They rejected the draft that



had been referred to them, and, on the 2d of April, the committee reported a new bill, "framed by the committee." This was brought into the Lords by the Earl of Northumberland. It received certain amendments, and, on May 8th, after the third reading, was passed and sent to the House of Commons. Here, too, there was careful deliberation. On May 11th the bill had its first reading; and on the 26th it was read a second time and referred to a committee of seventeen, including the Recorder of London and two serjeants-at-law (Hobart and Shirley), which was directed to meet on the first of June in the Middle Temple Hall. On the 5th, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, for the committee, reported the bill "with alterations and amendments." On June 7th it came up for the third reading, was passed as amended, and on the 9th was sent up to the Lords.<sup>111</sup>

This bare statement of recorded facts disposes of the myth that King James was the author or the father of the statute which has so long been associated with his name and fame. Whether the measure was good or bad, — whether its results were great or small, — the Lords and Commons of England, and not the king, must shoulder the responsibility.<sup>112</sup> And it is in complete accord with what we should expect from the caution with which both houses proceeded and the care which their committees took, that the statute, when finally it left the hands of Parliament, was not really a new law at all, but simply a modification and extension of the statute of Elizabeth.

Two names on the Lords' Committee catch the eye immediately, — the Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Lincoln. Ten years before, in 1594, a short time after the witches of Warboys were hanged, Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby, had died at Latham after a ten days' illness. The physicians (he had four) ascribed his disease to a surfeit combined with

<sup>111</sup> Lords' Journals, 1. 267, 269, 271, 272, 293, 294, 316; Commons' Journals, 1. 204, 207, 227, 232, 234, 236.

<sup>112</sup> The object of the law was not to multiply culprits, but to deter men from committing the crime. The idea that very great severity defeats its object did not then obtain among penologists. Take an example of the temper of intelligent men in this regard. In May, 1604, William Clopton writes to Timothy Hutton: — "There is an act passed to take away the clergie from stealers of sheep and oxen, which will do much good" (Hutton Correspondence, Surtees Society, 1843, p. 195).

over-exertion. But there were grave suspicions of sorcery. The earl had dreamed strange dreams; he had been "crossed" by an apparition "with a gastly and threatning countenance." An image of wax was discovered in his bedroom. "A homely Woman, about the age of fifty yeeres, was found mumbling in a corner of his honours Chamber, but what God knoweth." Three other suspected witches appear in the case at divers times and in sundry manners. The earl himself "cryed out that the Doctors laboured in vaine, because hee was certainly bewitched." In the end, the opinion seems to have prevailed that he died from natural causes.<sup>113</sup> But it would be extraordinary if all the circumstances had not made a profound impression on his younger brother, who succeeded him, and this is the Earl of Derby whom we have noted in the Lords' Committee on the bill. Another person who must also have been deeply affected by these strange happenings was the Bishop of Chester, who attended the dying man. This was Dr. William Chader-ton, who was translated to Lincoln in 1594, and he, too, sat in the Lords' Committee.

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who reported the second draft from the committee, was a famous student of the occult sciences and was popularly known as "the Wizard Earl." Like Dr. Dee, he believed that his own investigations were free from the taint of diabolism, but, like Dee, he must also have felt convinced that there were others who *did* traffic with the infernal powers, and that such persons deserved punishment.

Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, another member of the Lords' Committee, had the reputation of being the most learned of the peers. He was a firm believer in the actuality of communication between mortals and wicked spirits. In his erudite *Defensative against the Poyson of Supposed Prophecies*, written in 1582 and 1583, he declared that one of the means "whereby the contagion of vnlawfull Prophecies is conueyed into the mindes of mortall men, is conference with damned Spirits or Familiars, as commonly we call them."<sup>114</sup> And he unhesitatingly ascribed the clairvoyance

<sup>113</sup> Stow, *Chronicle*, ed. Howe, 1631, pp. 767-768.

<sup>114</sup> Ed. 1620, p. 81.

of cunning men and women to such revelations, — taking as an example their disclosure of the thief in a case of cutting a purse.<sup>115</sup>

Let us turn to the Commons' Committee. Here we find several interesting names. Sir Roger Aston had been English resident in Scotland. This may be held to be a two-edged argument, but we do not need it, for there are plenty more. Two of the most notoriously witch-haunted counties in England were Lancaster and Essex. Now, Lancashire was represented on the committee by Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton. As for Essex, not only was the county member, Sir Francis Barrington, on the committee, but also Sir Robert Wroth, who lived principally at Loughton Hall, in Essex. He was a man of forty-odd when Brian Darcey's great St. Osyth cases were tried and ten witches were hanged at Chelmsford in that county. Other executions at Chelmsford took place in 1579<sup>116</sup> and 1589.<sup>117</sup> Giffard, we remember, was an Essex preacher, and his *Dialogue*, published in 1593 and reissued in 1603, had urged the sharpening of the statute in the precise direction which this parliament took. Wroth had large possessions in Middlesex and sat for that county.<sup>118</sup> Now of the twenty-nine years from 1573 to 1601 there were witch-records for thirteen. Serjeant Ho-

<sup>115</sup> P. 85. Bishop Bancroft and the Earl of Shrewsbury were on the Lords' Committee. The bishop had been the leading spirit in the prosecution of Darrel, and the earl had been present at the trial. But this is no reason why they should have opposed the statute. As we have seen, Bancroft was a prosecutor of exorcists, not a protector of alleged witches. In the Synod called by James (which sat concurrently with Parliament, and broke up on July 9, 1604, two days after Parliament rose) a canon (written by Bancroft) was adopted, forbidding clergymen, without proper license, "to attempt upon any pretence whatsoever, eyther of Possession or Obsession, by fasting, and prayers to cast out any Devill or Devills" (Canon 72, Constitutions and Canons of the Synod of 1603, ed. 1633; cf. J. W. Joyce, *England's Sacred Synods*, 1853, pp. 620 ff.; Cardwell, *Synodalia*, 2. 583 ff.). This canon was in no wise inconsistent with the statute, nor can it have been so regarded by the twelve bishops who sat on the Lords' Committee. At all events, James I. showed himself quite as skeptical as Bancroft in cases of alleged possession (see pp. 47 ff., below).

<sup>116</sup> Collier, 2 *Notes and Queries*, 12. 301; Arber, *Stationers' Register*, 2. 352, 358.

<sup>117</sup> Arber, 2. 525; cf. Collier, as above, p. 301.

<sup>118</sup> On the Wroth family see a series of papers by Mr. W. C. Waller in the *Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society*, New Series, 8. 145 ff., 345 ff.; 9. 1 ff. On Sir Robert Wroth (1540-1606) see especially 8. 150 ff. His son Robert (1576-1614, knighted in 1603) was one of Ben Jonson's patrons (see 8. 156 ff.).



bart (later Sir Henry) was likewise a committeeman. What he thought of witchcraft we may infer from his conduct when Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer at the trial of Margaret and Philip (*i.e.* Philippa) Flower, who were executed in 1619 for bewitching to death two sons of the Earl of Rutland.<sup>119</sup> Nobody will suggest that he learned his creed from James I. If any should be so absurd, we may balance him by Sir Humphrey Winch, also an M.P., though not on the committee, who, in 1619, incurred the wrath of the king by condemning nine witches to death in a case which James himself shortly after exposed as an imposture. We shall return to this in a moment.<sup>120</sup> There was a Mr. Throckmorton on the committee. This was John Throckmorton, M.P. for Gloucestershire. The Throckmortons of that county were related to those of Huntingdonshire. It is likely that Mr. John had felt some share of the universal interest roused by the experiences of his distant kinswomen of Warboys. The Recorder of London also sat on the Commons' Committee. This was Henry Montagu,<sup>121</sup> afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench (1616) and Earl of Manchester (1626). He was of Christ's College, Cambridge, where he had been a younger contemporary of William Perkins, whose strong advocacy of more stringent laws against witchcraft we have already noted. Later, he was a patron of Thomas Cooper, whose book about witchcraft we have examined.<sup>122</sup> James Montagu, who preached Perkins's funeral sermon, was his younger brother.<sup>123</sup> Their father, Sir Edward Montagu, was likewise on the Commons' Committee. Can there be any doubt of the opinions of this family on the subject of witchcraft? Must we look to James I. as the source of their views? Finally, we note with peculiar interest that the bill was reported, with amendments, from the committee to the House by Sir Thomas Ridgeway, of Devon, before whom, in 1601 and 1602, were taken an extraordinary series

<sup>119</sup> See pp. 59-60, below.

<sup>120</sup> See pp. 57-59, below.

<sup>121</sup> He became Recorder in 1603 (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610, pp. 10, 14; cf. Foss, *Judges of England*, 6. 167 ff.; Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College*, 1910, 1. 173).

<sup>122</sup> *Life of Cooper in Dictionary of National Biography.*

<sup>123</sup> See p. 21, above. Cf. Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College*, 1910, 1. 181.

of examinations accusing the Trevisard family of witchcraft.<sup>124</sup>

It is time to study the advisory board of legal experts who were attached to the Lords' Committee on this most earnestly debated bill. Three of these attract our particular attention, Chief Justice Anderson, Serjeant Croke, and Coke, then Attorney-General.

Sir Edmund Anderson had been chief justice for twenty-two years. He knew all about the workings of the Elizabethan statute. At first sight one might think him opposed to witch prosecution, for he had taken a leading part in "exposing" Darrel, and he had a lively sense of the danger of popular excitement to the innocent in such matters. But a moment's thought will set us right. Perkins and Giffard and Dr. Cotta — nay, James himself, as we shall see presently<sup>125</sup> — thought that judges ought to be very careful to sift the evidence and protect the innocent, but none of them doubted that a witch whose guilt was proved ought to be condemned. So the majority of civilized men to-day believe in the wisdom and righteousness of the death penalty for a certain grade of crime, but all are agreed that care should be taken to clear the innocent. An instructive example of the distinction that we must make may be seen in the person of Sir Edward Bromley. At the same assizes, in 1612, Bromley presided over two sets of witch-trials, those of the Pendle witches and those of the witches of Salmsbury. In the Pendle cases, he could not doubt the evidence, and he condemned ten to death with complete assurance that he was doing right. Cotta, himself, in 1616, speaks of the evidence in these cases with regard to sorcery by means of "pictures of waxe" as "proued" by "testimonies beyond exception."<sup>126</sup> In the Salmsbury cases, on the contrary, Bromley saw reason to suspect the veracity of the chief witness for the prosecution, and followed up the clue so well that the defendants were acquitted.<sup>127</sup> Students of demonology will not forget that modern writers have seen fit to gird at Bromley, not only for his supposed cruelty and superstition

<sup>124</sup> See p. 17, above.

<sup>125</sup> See pp. 48, 53, 58, 63-64, below.

<sup>126</sup> *Triall of Witch-craft*, p. 90.

<sup>127</sup> Potts, *Wonderfull Discoverie*, 1613, sigs. K3-N2.

in condemning the witches of Pendle, but also — strange to say — for the ground on which he first entertained the suspicion that led to the acquittal of the other group. But it is hard to satisfy modern writers on witchcraft, who insist on censuring the sixteenth and seventeenth century on a basis of modern rationalism. It is quite certain that if some of those who now sit in judgment on the witch-prosecutors had been witch-judges, no defendant would ever have escaped.

But we must return to Chief Justice Anderson, who, as well as Sir John Croke, sat on the committee of advisers to the Lords. Anderson and Croke had been associated, in 1603, in the affair of Mary Glover, which we have already considered. This happened before the accession of James. Croke appears therein as a devout believer in both demoniacal possession and witchcraft, and there is no reason to suppose that Anderson was in any way dissatisfied with his proceedings.<sup>128</sup>

Now for Coke, the Attorney General. There is a new provision in the statute of 1604 (not found in the Elizabethan law) imposing the death penalty on any one who shall "take up any dead man, woman, or child out of his, her, or their grave, or any other place where the dead bodie resteth, or the skin, bone, or any other parte of any dead person, to be imployed or used in any manner of Witchcrafte, Sorcerie, Charme, or Inchantment." Hutchinson<sup>129</sup> conjectured that this provision was due to King James, noting that such ghoulish outrages were a part of the confession of Agnes Sampson, one of the first Scottish witches examined in the king's presence in 1590.<sup>130</sup> I am willing to add to this guess whatever support may be derived from the fact that the king, in his *Dæmonologie*, more than once adverts to the witches' habit of "joynting," or dismembering, corpses.<sup>131</sup> But, when all is said and done, this is a poor refuge, in view of what now appears to be the history of the statute, especially when one remembers that the use of the dead for purposes of sorcery dates, not from the confession of Agnes

<sup>128</sup> See p. 29, above.

<sup>129</sup> P. 179.

<sup>130</sup> See Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, 1. 218, 233, 237, and especially 239 (cf. 2. 478); *Newes from Scotland*, Sig. B3.

<sup>131</sup> Ed. 1603, pp. 43, 58.



Sampson, but from the "backward and abysm of time." The lawmakers, cleric or lay, did not learn of this habit from King James, unless they were so ignorant as never to have heard of Lucan's Erichtho,<sup>132</sup> whom Marston actually brought upon the stage at about this very time in a tragedy which contains a speech, in description of the sorceress, that out-Lucans Lucan.<sup>133</sup> But we need not appeal to the classics. Sir Edward Kelley, far-famed as Dr. Dee's skryer in crystallo-mancy, had already emulated Erichtho. Years before, "vpon a certaine night, in the Parke of Walton in le Dale, in the county of Lancaster, with one Paul Waring," he had "inuocated some one of the infernall regiment, to know certaine passages in the life, as also what might bee knowne by the deuils foresight, of the manner and time of the death of a noble young Gentleman, as then in his wardship." The black rites finished, Kelley learned of the gentleman's servant about a poor man's corpse that had been buried in a neighboring churchyard that very day. "Hee and the said *Waring* intreated this foresaid seruant, to go with them to the graue." The servant complied, "and withall did helpe them to digge up the carcase of the poor caitiffe, whom by their incantations, they made him (or rather some euill spiritt through his Organs) to speake, who deliuered strange predictions concerning the said Gentleman." All that we know of the prodigious Kelley inclines us to credit him with an attempt at necromancy on this occasion. Weeever, who told the tale in 1631, had it from the servant who was present, as well as from the young gentleman to whom the servant had revealed the affair.<sup>134</sup> It is safe to say that the crime of violating graves was as common in England as in Scotland. It surely was an offence quite as worthy of the gallows as sheep-stealing, or theft above the value of twelpepence. And it was natural enough to insert a clause to cover it in the revised law. Now Coke was just the man to do this, for he knew of a fourteenth-century case which showed that the law

<sup>132</sup> *Pharsalia*, vi., 507 ff.

<sup>133</sup> *Sophonisba*, act iv., scene 1, vv. 99-125 (Works, ed. Bullen, 2. 290-291).

<sup>134</sup> John Weeever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 1631, pp. 45-46. Cf. Reginald Scot, bk. xv., chaps. 8, 17 (ed. 1584, pp. 401 ff., 423 ff.); Baines, *History of Lancashire*, ed. Harland, 1. 199.

was imperfect in this very point, and he reports the occurrence in his Institutes, in commenting on this provision in the statute of 1604.

A man was taken in Southwark with a head and a face of a dead man, and with a book of sorcery in his male, and was brought into the king's bench before Sir John Knevett<sup>135</sup> then chief justice: but seeing no indictment was against him, the clerks did swear him, that from thenceforth he should not be a sorcerer, and was delivered out of prison, and the head of the dead man and the book of sorcery were burnt at Tuthill at the costs of the prisoner. So as the head and his book of sorcery had the same punishment, that the sorcerer should have had by the ancient law, if he had by his sorcery praied in aid of the devil.<sup>136</sup>

Who was so likely as Coke to instruct the Lords' Committee as to the defect in the former statute in this regard? At all events, his exposition of the statute of 1604 shows how thoroughly he believed in witchcraft, and leaves no doubt as to the general bearing of whatever advice he gave the committee. Nor need we quote his celebrated charge to the jury in Mrs. Turner's trial for the murder of Overbury, as we might otherwise be tempted to do.<sup>137</sup> Among the magical exhibits at this trial was a parchment on which "were written all the names of the *holy Trinity*; as also a figure in which was written this word *Corpus*, and upon the *parchment* was fastned a little piece of the *skin* of a *man*." <sup>138</sup> This was, it appears, a charm of Forman's. He certainly did not import it from Scotland! <sup>139</sup>

¶ I think we may now regard the following propositions as proved: (1) The last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign were a time of intense and continuous excitement in the matter of witchcraft, with repeated trials and a good many executions. (2) The doctrine was not dying out when James came to the throne. It was held with great tenacity, not only by the masses, but by a vast majority of the educated

<sup>135</sup> Sir John Knyvet was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1357 and Lord Chancellor in 1372 (Campbell, *Lord Chancellors*, 1846, 1. 267-268).

<sup>136</sup> Coke's Institutes, Third Part, cap. 6. See Gentleman's Magazine, 1829, Part ii., 99. 515.

<sup>137</sup> Truth Brought to Light by Time, 1651, p. 140; Egerton Papers, Camden Society, pp. 472-473.

<sup>138</sup> Truth Brought to Light, p. 138.

<sup>139</sup> As to Forman, see pp. 49-50, below.

and influential, — nobility, country gentry, divines, judges, and citizens. (3) The Elizabethan law was generally thought to be imperfect, and there was strong pressure for new legislation. (4) The statute of 1604 was carefully considered and fully discussed. It was not a king's bill, nor was it rushed through under royal whip and spur, or passed out of complaisance to the new sovereign. There is no evidence that the king took any particular interest in the act. It reflected the conscientious opinions of both Houses of Parliament.<sup>140</sup> (5) It followed the language of the Elizabethan statute at almost every point, though somewhat more severe. (6) In its practical working, however, in James's time, the statute of 1604 was not appreciably severer than the Elizabethan law.]

[But the case against James I. as a witch-hunter during his English reign is not merely destitute of every kind of evidence in its favor, — it has to meet an overwhelming array of direct proof on the other side. And to this evidence we must now pass. It is quite conclusive.

First, we will consider certain pardons that are matters of record. The list is short — for there were few convictions — but it is significant.<sup>141</sup> On April 16, 1604, when the new statute was still under deliberation, Christian, the wife of Thomas Weech, of County Norfolk, received the royal pardon for witchcraft.<sup>142</sup> In 1608, Simon Reade was pardoned for conjuration and invocation of unclean spirits.<sup>143</sup> This case is mentioned by Ben Jonson in *The Alchemist* (1610).<sup>144</sup> Reade was a medical practitioner and cunning man of Southwark.<sup>145</sup> One Toby Mathew of London had lost £37, 10

<sup>140</sup> No doubt James approved of the statute. He certainly believed in witchcraft and thought that proved witches ought to be put to death. In the *Basilikon Doron*, addressed to Prince Henry, he mentions witchcraft among the "horrible crymes that yee are bounde in Conscience neuer to forgiue" (1599, Roxburghe Club reprint, p. 37; London edition of 1603, p. 31). But the question is not whether he was a believer in the actuality of such offences, but whether he was a blind and maniacal persecutor who misled the English nation, to its everlasting disgrace.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Inderwick, *Side-Lights on the Stuarts*, 2d. ed., p. 150.

<sup>142</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610*, p. 96.

<sup>143</sup> *Calendar*, p. 406.

<sup>144</sup> Act i., scene 2.

<sup>145</sup> Reade stood suit with the College of Physicians in 1602 for practising without a license and was cast, as Gifford remarks in his note on the passage in *The Alchemist*. In the pardon he is styled "in medicinis professor."



shillings, by theft, and Reade invoked three devils — Hewelon, Faternon, and Cleveton — to learn the name of the thief and recover the money. There were several séances, — the first on November 8, 1606, the others before the 10th of the following January.<sup>146</sup> Apparently Mathew blabbed, perhaps because the devils did not find his money for him. No doubt Reade, when he saw that his trickery was to cost him his life, confessed that the conjuration was pure humbug, and so was pardoned. In 1610, Christian Weech received a second pardon, this time for the murder of Mary Freeston by witchcraft.<sup>147</sup> In 1611, William Bate, “indicted twenty years since for practising of invocation of spirits for finding treasure,” was pardoned.<sup>148</sup> In Bate’s case the ground is expressly stated, — the evidence was “found weak.” Of course this was also the reason for royal clemency in the other three cases. We have precisely the same situation that confronts us in Jane Wenham’s case, in 1712, when the judge was dissatisfied with the verdict of a credulous jury and saved the condemned prisoner in the only way open to him, then as now, by procuring the royal pardon.

The bearing of these records is unmistakable. They prove both that James was no bigoted and indiscriminating witch-finder and witch-prosecutor, and that the judges tried to get at the truth in this crime as in others. Here, then, is the place to quote a passage from Francis Osborne, with whom King James was no favorite: “What his judgment was of Witchcraft, you may in part find by his Treatise on that Subject, and Charge he gave the Judges, to be circumspect in condemning those, committed by ignorant Justices, for Diabolical Compacts. Nor had he concluded his advice in a narrower Circle (as I have heard) than the denial of any such Operations, but out of Reason of State: and to gratify the Church, which hath in no Age, thought fit to explode out of the Common Peoples Minds, an Apprehension of Witchcraft.”<sup>149</sup> The latter part of this dictum may pass for what

<sup>146</sup> The pardon, giving these details, is printed in Rymer’s *Fœdera*, 2d edition, 16. 666–667.

<sup>147</sup> Calendar, 1603–1610, p. 598.

<sup>148</sup> Calendar, 1611–1618, p. 29.

<sup>149</sup> Essay 1, *Miscellaneous Works*, 11th ed., 1722, 1. 25.

it is worth. The whole passage is valuable for the light it throws upon the king's reputation with his contemporaries. They thought him skeptical rather than credulous.

There is a close relation between the general purport of Osborne's testimony and the attitude of James with regard to the curative power of the royal touch.<sup>150</sup> His incredulity on this point was manifested at the very beginning of his reign. "The King," wrote Scaramelli to the Doge of Venice, in 1603, shortly before the coronation, "says that neither he nor any other King can have power to heal scrofula, for the age of miracles is past, and God alone can work them. However," adds the Venetian, "he will have the full ceremony [*sc.* of coronation, anointing included], so as not to lose this prerogative [*sc.* of touching for the king's evil], which belongs to the Kings of England as Kings of France."<sup>151</sup> And we know that he actually touched for the evil on various occasions, for reasons of state,<sup>152</sup> knowing well that the ceremony could not harm the sufferers and might work beneficially upon them through the imagination. "He was a King in understanding," says Arthur Wilson, "and was content to have his Subjects ignorant in many things. As in curing the *Kings-Evil*, which he knew a *Device*, to aggrandize the *Virtue* of Kings, when *Miracles* were in fashion; but he let the World believe it, though he smiled at it, in his own *Reason*, finding the strength of the *Imagination* a more powerful *Agent* in the *Cure*, than the *Plasters* his *Chirurgions* prescribed for the *Sore*."<sup>153</sup>

Along with the pardons which we have noted may be classed the toleration which James extended to Forman and Lambe and Dee. This is a curious circumstance which has never received the attention it deserves.

Simon Forman was undoubtedly a rascal.<sup>154</sup> He seems, however, to have been a likeable fellow. Lilly's anecdote of his predicting his own death is charming and proves that Forman

<sup>150</sup> See Manly, *Macbeth*, 1900, pp. xvi.-xviii.

<sup>151</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-1607, p. 44 (June 4, 1603).

<sup>152</sup> In 1604, 1608, 1610, and 1617, for instance (*Calendar*, as above, 1603-1607, p. 193; 1607-1610, pp. 116, 465; *Eboracum*, 1788, 1. 150).

<sup>153</sup> *History of Great Britain*, 1653, p. 289.

<sup>154</sup> See Mr. Lee's life of Forman in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 19. 438 ff.

had a good measure of *bonhomie*.<sup>155</sup> It also goes far to show that he put some trust in his own occult powers, though in the main he must have been a charlatan. Certainly he passed for a sorcerer. For years he made a public profession of necromancy and magic at Lambeth, and was much consulted by the ladies. On the 26th of June, 1603, Forman was licensed by the University of Cambridge to practise medicine, and on the next day the university conferred upon him the degree of M.D. How he contrived to obtain these certificates of professional respectability is a puzzle.<sup>156</sup> King James never molested Forman, and the Doctor died peacefully in 1611. The full extent of his rascality did not come out until the trial of Mrs. Turner, in 1615, for the murder of Overbury,<sup>157</sup> but that makes no difference. He was a notorious conjuror, and it would have been easy to find evidence during his life that would have hanged him a hundred times.<sup>158</sup>

Dr. John Lambe was in the same kind of business as Forman but was even less reputable. He was convicted at the Worcester assizes on two separate indictments, each of them for a capital crime. The first was for "wasting and consuming" Thomas Lord Windsor by witchcraft; the second for "invoking and entertaining" evil spirits.<sup>159</sup> Sentence was suspended, and Lambe was imprisoned in Worcester Castle. Shortly after, he was removed to the King's Bench in Lon-

<sup>155</sup> William Lilly, *History of his Life and Times*, 2d ed., 1715, p. 16.

<sup>156</sup> Forman was twice imprisoned, at the instance of the Royal College of Physicians, as an unauthorized and ignorant practitioner (in 1595 and 1596). In 1601 he was again complained of. In 1606 and 1607, after obtaining his Cambridge degree, he was cited to appear before the College, but refused to obey. See the records in the 8th Report of the Commission on Historical MSS., Appendix, Part i., p. 228.

<sup>157</sup> *Truth Brought to Light by Time*, 1651, pp. 135-138; Letter from Thomas Bone to Sir John Egerton, November 9, 1615, Egerton Papers, Camden Society, pp. 470-473.

<sup>158</sup> See Lilly, pp. 12-16.

<sup>159</sup> The indictments are printed (in translation) in *A Briefe Description of the Notorious Life of Iohn Lambe*, Amsterdam, 1628, pp. 3-6. They are not dated. The bewitching of Lord Windsor is stated in the first indictment to have occurred on December 16, 5 Jac. I. (*i.e.* 1607), and at divers times afterward; the second indictment dates the invocation of evil spirits, May 13, 6 Jac. I. (*i.e.* 1608), and before and after. Mr. Sidney Lee (*Dictionary of National Biography*, 32. 1) shifts the second of these dates, inadvertently, from the *offence* to the *trial*. We do not, in fact, know when Lambe was tried, but it was before 1617.



don,<sup>160</sup> where he remained a long time. But his confinement was not rigorous. He lived in prison quite at his ease, receiving his patients and clients and doing a thriving business as physician and sorcerer.<sup>161</sup> He was convicted of a rape committed while in confinement,<sup>162</sup> but the chief justice reported that the evidence was dubious, and in 1624 he was pardoned.<sup>163</sup> Soon after, he was released from custody and took up his residence near the Parliament House.<sup>164</sup> In 1628 he met his death at the hands of the London mob while returning from a play at the Fortune.<sup>165</sup> Lambe was protected by Buckingham, and was known as the "Duke's devil."<sup>166</sup> But Buckingham was not always friendly. Thus, in 1625, the duke was clamorous against him on account of his connection with Lady Purbeck's case. "If Lambe" — so Buckingham wrote to Attorney General Coventry and Solicitor General Heath — "be allowed to get off by saying he was only juggling [*i.e.* not really practising sorcery], . . . the truth can never be known; Lambe has hitherto, by such shifts, mocked the world and preserved himself."<sup>167</sup> I am far from maintaining that King James's indulgence to such scoundrels as Forman and Lambe was altogether creditable to him, but it certainly tends to prove that he was not a rabid prosecutor of witches and sorcerers.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>160</sup> Briefe Description, p. 14.

<sup>161</sup> Pp. 14 ff.

<sup>162</sup> The indictment dates the offence June 10, 21 Jac. I., *i.e.* 1623 (Briefe Description, p. 15). The conviction was in 1624 (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1623-1625, p. 485).

<sup>163</sup> Calendar, 1623-1625, pp. 241, 243, 261, 266, 280.

<sup>164</sup> Briefe Description, 1628, p. 20.

<sup>165</sup> The same, pp. 20-21; Rushworth, Historical Collections, 1. 618 (cf. 1. 391); Reign of Charles I., continuation of Baker's Chronicle, ed. 1660, p. 493; Richard Smith, Obituary, in Peck, Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. 2. Book xiv, p. 11; Jupp, Historical Account of the Company of Carpenters, 1887, pp. 84-85.

<sup>166</sup> Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, as above, p. 493. Cf. Fairholt, Poems and Songs relating to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, Percy Society, 1850, pp. xiv.-xv., 58-63, 65.

<sup>167</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1623-1625, p. 476. Lady Purbeck had visited Lambe in prison to procure charms from him (p. 474; cf. p. 497).

<sup>168</sup> Another infamous person who drove a thriving trade with the court ladies was Mrs. Mary Woods, who practised her arts at Norwich, and removed to London in 1612. She was involved in the alleged plot of the Countess of Essex to poison the Earl. She was arrested and examined, but it does not appear that she was proceeded against under the statute of 1604, although one witness declared that she professed to have a familiar spirit. Obviously she was regarded as a mere charlatan, yet it would have been easy enough to hang her for a witch if the king had

Dr. Dee is in a different category, for he was a profound scholar and a man of a sincere and simple character, whom it would be profanation to class with Lambe and Forman. Yet there is no manner of doubt that his occult experiments (of which voluminous documentary evidence is still extant) might have convicted him of sorcery on literally a thousand counts. His sole defence would have been that he was invoking and consulting good angels, not demons, but the theologians could have made short work of that allegation. True, Dee had been examined on a charge of witchcraft in the Star Chamber in 1555 and acquitted.<sup>169</sup> But his subsequent proceedings were enough to condemn him, and he constantly had to protest against the aspersion of being "a companion of Hell-hounds and conjuror of wicked and damned spirits,"<sup>170</sup> and "the arche coniurer of this whole kingdom."<sup>171</sup> In 1583 the mob had destroyed his library at Mortlake.<sup>172</sup> Anecdotes that descended to Aubrey give ample testimony to his fame as a conjuror.<sup>173</sup> Dee seems to have been agitated by the passage of the statute of 1604, for, on June 5, of that year, while the act was still in debate, he petitioned King James to have him "tryed and cleared of that horrible and damnable, and to him most grievous and dammageable sclander, generally, and for these many yeares last past, in this kingdom rayseed and continued, by report and print against him, namely, that he is or hath bin a conjurer or caller or invocator of divels."<sup>174</sup> No attention was paid to his entreaty, but the king did not molest him, and

favoured such a prosecution (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, pp. 134, 161, 173, 183, 187; *Inquiry into the Genuineness of a Letter, etc.*, pp. 17-19, *Camden Miscellany*, 5; Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642*, 4th ed., 2. 169, note 1).

<sup>169</sup> See his own account of the affair in his *Compendious Rehearsall, 1592*, printed by Crossley, in *Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee*, pp. 20-21 (*Chetnam Miscellany*, 1), and cf. the *Necessary Advertisement* prefixed to his *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation, 1577* (Crossley, p. 57). See also *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1550*, p. 67; Charlotte Fell Smith, *John Dee, 1909*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>170</sup> Dee's Preface to Henry Billingsley's translation of *Euclid's Elements, 1571* (Smith, pp. 24-28).

<sup>171</sup> *Necessary Advertisement, 1577* (Crossley, p. 53).

<sup>172</sup> *Compendious Rehearsall, 1592* (Crossley, pp. 27 ff.).

<sup>173</sup> Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark, 1. 212-214.

<sup>174</sup> Smith, p. 293.

he died in his bed in 1608. James doubtless respected Dee's learning, and he may have been assured of his innocence by the aged scholar's friends, who were numerous and influential, — Sir Julius Cæsar, for instance. Indeed, Dee was styled "the King his Mathematitian,"<sup>175</sup> — a title which appears to imply some degree of royal favor.

James's pardons and his toleration of Dee and Lambe and Forman would go far to show that he was not a bigoted witch-prosecutor. But there is evidence of an unequivocal nature. It concerns the king's personal activity in the detection of imposture. On this point the records are decisive, and, when we consider the prevalent impression as to James's character as a witch-finder, they are nothing less than astounding.<sup>176</sup>

First of all we have a charming letter from James to the young Prince Henry. It bears no date, but unbiassed judges put it at the very beginning of the reign, and Sir Henry Ellis believes that it was written before the Prince had left Scotland.

My Sonne I ame glaid that by youre Letre I maye persave that ye make some progresse in learning. . . . I ame also glaide of the discoverie of yone litle counterfytte Wenche. I praye God ye maye be my aire [*i.e.*, heir] in such discoveries. Ye have ofte hearde me saye that most miracles nou a dayes proves but illusions, and ye maye see by this hou waire judgis should be in trusting accusations withoute an exacte tryall; and lyke-ways hou easielie people are inducid to trust wonders. Lett her be kepte fast till my cumming; and thus God blesse you my sonne.<sup>177</sup>

<sup>175</sup> MS. College of Arms c. 37, 168, quoted by F. R. Raines, Rectors of Manchester and Wardens of the Collegiate Church, Part ii, 1885, p. 110 (Chetham Society).

<sup>176</sup> James has been derided for maintaining the doctrine of witchcraft in the Essex divorce case (see his answer to Archbishop Abbot in Truth Brought to Light by Time, 1651, pp. 103 ff.). This discredit, however, such as it is, is cancelled by his conduct in the case of Sir Thomas Lake (involving a precisely similar allegation of witchcraft), in which he showed much acumen in unravelling a tangled skein of malice and perjury. See Gardiner, History, 3. 189-194 (1895). Mr. Gardiner remarks that James "prided himself upon his skill in the detection of impostures" (3. 192).

<sup>177</sup> Harleian MS. 6986, art. 40 (autograph), as printed by Sir Henry Ellis, Original Letters, 1st Series, 1824, 3. 80-81. The letter may also be found in Birch, Life of Henry Prince of Wales, 1760, p. 37; Letters to King James the Sixth, Maitland Club, 1835, p. xxxv. (where it is said, erroneously, to be in reply to an extant letter of January 1, 1603-4, from Prince Henry); Nichols, Progresses of James I., 1. 304; Halliwell, Letters of the Kings, 1848, 2. 102. Cf. Gifford's edition of Ford, 1. clxxi. (ed. Dyce, 1869, 3. 276); Quarterly Review, 41. 80-82.



In 1604 we find James, in his *Counterblast to Tobacco*, deriding exorcism in a style worthy of Bancroft and Harsnet. "O omnipotent power of Tobacco!" he ejaculates. "And if it could by the smoke thereof chace out deuils, as the smoke of *Tobias* fish did (which I am sure could smel no stronger) it would serue for a precious Relicke, both for the superstitious Priests, and the insolent Puritanes, to cast out deuils withal." <sup>178</sup>

Another letter of the king's should be given in full, if space allowed. It begins by reminding the recipient "how that in late time we discovered and put to flight one of those counterfeits, the like whereof ye now advertise us." "By this bearer," adds King James, "we send unto you instructions suited for such an occasion, willing you leave nothing untried to discover the imposture." It appears that the patient was a woman who lay in a trance and had supported life for a long time on one small cup of wine. The king gives wise directions and remarks that "miracles like those of which you give us notice should be all ways and diligently tested." And he concludes with the words, "It . . . becomes us to lose no opportunity of seeking after the real truth of pretended wonders, that if true we may bless the Creator who hath shown such marvels to men, and if false we may punish the impudent inventors of them." <sup>179</sup>

In 1605 Sir Roger Wilbraham notes in his *Journal*, immediately after telling a witch-story: — "The King's maiestie, sithence his happie comyng, by his owne skill hath discovered 2 notorious impostures: one of a phisicion that made latyne & lerned sermons in the slepe: which he did by secret premeditacion: thother of a woman pretended to be bewitched, that cast up at her mouth pynnes, & pynnes were taken by divers in her fitts out of her brest." <sup>180</sup>

<sup>178</sup> Ed. Arber, p. 108.

<sup>179</sup> Dated March 5th (no year). Halliwell (from Rawlinson MS.), *Letters of the Kings*, 2. 124-125. It does not appear to whom the letter was addressed. Such cases of real or pretended fasting are common. See, for example, John Reynolds, *A Discourse upon Prodigious Abstinence*: occasioned by the Twelve Moneths Fasting of Martha Taylor, the famed Derbyshire Damsell, 1669.

<sup>180</sup> *Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, 1593-1616*, ed. by H. S. Scott, p. 70 (Camden Miscellany, 10). This is clearly the case mentioned by Walter Yonge in his *Diary* (ed. Roberts, Camden Society, 1848, p. 12). If so, the bewitched person was "near kinswoman to Doctor Holland's wife, Rector of Exon College in

The first of these two impostors was Richard Haydock of New College, Oxford, the celebrated Sleeping Preacher. He made a great noise in the world. In 1605 James summoned him to court, where he preached three times. The king felt sure he was shamming. He soon fathomed Haydock's mystery, brought him to repentance, and treated him kindly afterwards.<sup>181</sup> The doctor's confession, addressed to King James, is extant among the State Papers.<sup>182</sup> Though witchcraft was not involved, the incident throws light on the king's frame of mind.

King James's detection of Haydock took place in April, 1605. In November of the same year the Gunpowder Plot was discovered. James, it will be remembered, boasted rather pedantically in an address to Parliament that he had unriddled a dark sentence in the Mounteagle letter and so was in effect the discoverer of the conspiracy.<sup>183</sup> He made similar pretensions in a conversation with Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador.<sup>184</sup> There is a plain connection between his pride in this exploit and the shrewdness he had just exhibited in the affair of the Sleeping Preacher and in that of the bewitched woman, for Salisbury gave out that he and other Councillors had submitted the Mounteagle letter to the king because of "the expectation and experience they had of His Majesties fortunate Judgement in cleering and solving of obscure Riddles and doubtful Mysteries."<sup>185</sup> It makes no difference whether this consultation was *pro*

Oxford." This was Thomas Holland, on whom see Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, 2. 111-112; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 2. 731.

<sup>181</sup> King James his Apophthegmes, 1643, pp. 8-9; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610, pp. 212, 213; Venetian, 1603-1607, pp. 238, 240-241; letters in Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, 2d ed., 1838, 3. 143-144, 153-155, 157-160; Arthur Wilson, *History of Great Britain*, 1653, p. 111; Baker's *Chronicle*, ed. 1660, p. 431; Fuller, *Church History*, Book x., Century xvii., § 56, ed. Brewer, 5. 450; Aubrey, MS. *History of Wiltshire*, pp. 362-363, as quoted by Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings*, 2. 124, note; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 2. 679; *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>182</sup> State Papers, James I., Vol. 13. No. 80. It is an obscure and rambling document.

<sup>183</sup> King James his Speech to both Houses of Parliament on Occasion of the Gunpowder-Treason, ed. 1679, p. 7; cf. *Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham*, pp. 70-71 (*Camden Miscellany*, 10).

<sup>184</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1603-1607, p. 327 (cf. pp. 316-317).

<sup>185</sup> Discourse, appended to King James his Speech (see note 183, above), pp. 28-29 (cf. pp. 30-31).

*forma*, mere courtly complaisance, or whether the Councillors really got some help from the king. On either hypothesis, the penchant of James for playing the detective is equally clear.

The second case mentioned by Wilbraham was pure witchcraft. The symptom of vomiting pins was regarded by most scholars as decisive against fraud. Thus Cotta, in 1616, in enumerating various tests by which (in contradistinction to swimming, scratching, and other things that he repudiates) witchcraft may be recognized, accepts this as one that is "palpable and not obscure to any eye without difficulty, offering [itself] to plaine and open viewe."<sup>186</sup> It now appears that James, more than ten years before Cotta wrote, had confuted this infallible test. Yet we are told that Cotta "was in advance of his age," that "he published his book in 1616, when King James's doctrines prevailed in full force, and it attracted little attention."<sup>187</sup> I agree that Cotta was in advance of his age. Be it so — but what shall we then say of James I.?

Another undated example is preserved by Aubrey.<sup>188</sup> A gentlewoman named Katharine Waldron, who "waited on Sir Francis Seymor's lady of Marlborough," pretended to be "bewitched by a certain woman." The phenomena were similar to those in the case of Mary Glover, which misled the Recorder of London in 1603.<sup>189</sup> The king "detected the cheat" by a clever, though somewhat indecorous, device.

More than once, when James was unable to investigate these matters in person, he intrusted the business to somebody else. Thus, in 1605, a warrant was issued "for such sums as the Earl of Salisbury shall require, for the charges of two maids suspected to be bewitched, and kept at Cambridge for trial."<sup>190</sup> *Trial* in this record of course does not mean *trial in court* (for it was not a crime to be bewitched), but *test, investigation*. Obviously it was thought that the girls might be shamming. Again, in 1611, the Council sent a letter to the Bishop of Bangor and the Judges of Assize

<sup>186</sup> Trial of Witchcraft, p. 76.

<sup>187</sup> Wright, Narratives of Sorcery and Magic, 2. 144.

<sup>188</sup> MS. History of Wiltshire, pp. 362-363 (Halliwell, Letters of the Kings, 2. 124, note).

<sup>189</sup> See p. 29, above.

<sup>190</sup> Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610, p. 218.



for County Carnarvon "to search out the truth of a supposed witchcraft committed on six young maids."<sup>191</sup> This was another cautionary measure to prevent false accusation and the arraignment of innocent persons. It reminds one of the action of Charles I. in 1634, when he delegated Bishop Bridgeman to investigate the second Pendle case.<sup>192</sup> We shall have occasion to consider the attitude of King Charles presently.<sup>193</sup>

And now we come to the most distinguished of all King James's exploits in the detection of fraudulent bewitchment. It is a case which, even if it stood absolutely alone, might suffice, in the absence of adverse testimony, to clear his reputation.

In 1616, on the 18th day of July, nine persons were hanged at Leicester. Their crime was the bewitching of a boy of thirteen or fourteen, named Smythe,<sup>194</sup> who suffered from fits<sup>195</sup> like those of the Throckmorton girls of Warboys.<sup>196</sup> Indeed, the influence of that famous case is unmistakable. Justice Fenner, in 1593, made old Samuel recite a formula devised by one of the hysterical girls: "As I am a Witch, and did consent to the death of the Lady Cromwell, so I charge the deuil to suffer Mistress Iane to come out of her fitt at this present."<sup>197</sup> Thereupon the girl was instantly relieved. So at Leicester in 1616 the accused were obliged to say, "I such a one chardge the hors [one of the devils], if I be a wiche, that thou come forthe of the chilld," whereupon young Smythe ceased to be tormented.<sup>198</sup> The judges were Sir Humphrey Winch, Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Randolph Crew (Serjeant),<sup>199</sup> — the former a member of the Parliament that passed the Statute of 1604.<sup>200</sup>

<sup>191</sup> Calendar, 1611-1618, p. 29.

<sup>192</sup> Calendar, 1634-1635, pp. 26, 77-79, 98, 129-130, 141, 152-153.

<sup>193</sup> See p. 64, below.

<sup>194</sup> On his identity see Kittredge, *King James I. and The Devil is an Ass* (*Modern Philology*, 9. 195-209).

<sup>195</sup> Letter from Alderman Robert Heyrick of Leicester to his brother Sir William in London, dated July 18, 1616 — the very day of the execution (printed by Nichols, *Leicestershire*, Vol. 2. Part ii., p. 471\*).

<sup>196</sup> See p. 32, above.

<sup>197</sup> *Witches of Warboys*, 1593, sig. P2 r<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>198</sup> Heyrick's letter.

<sup>199</sup> Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, 3. 193; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1611-1618, p. 398.

<sup>200</sup> He was M.P. for the Borough of Bedford (*Members of Parliament*, 1. 442 a).

About a month after the execution of these nine witches, King James chanced to be at Leicester on a royal progress. He stayed there not more than twenty-four hours.<sup>201</sup> The Smythe boy was still having his fits, and six more accused persons were in jail awaiting trial at the autumn assizes. Nobody can doubt what the issue would have been. But now James intervened. I will let Francis Osborne (1593–1659) tell the story. “The King being gratified by nothing more than an Opportunity to shew his Dexterity in discovering an Imposture (at which I must confess him the promptest Man Living) upon his arrival convented the Boy. Where, before him, (possibly daunted at his Presence, or terrified by his Words) he began to falter, so as the King discovered a Fallacy. And did for a further Confirmation, send him to *Lambeth*; where the Servants of *Dr. George Abbot*,<sup>202</sup> did in a few Weeks discover the whole Deceit. And he was sent back to his Majesty before the end of the Progress; where, upon a small entreaty, he would repeat all his Tricks oftentimes in a Day.”<sup>203</sup>

The result we learn from a contemporary letter written by a Leicester alderman.<sup>204</sup> Five of the six alleged witches were released without a trial; the sixth had died in prison. Nor did the king neglect to let the judges see that he was not pleased with their lack of acumen. “Justice Winch,” writes Secretary Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton on October 12, “and Serjeant Crew are somewhat discountenanced for hanging certain Witches in their circuit at Leicester; whereas the King, coming that way, found out the juggling and imposture of the boy, that counterfeited to be bewitched.”<sup>205</sup>

<sup>201</sup> The king went from Nottingham to Leicester on August 15th, spent the night there, and proceeded to Dingley, on the 16th (Nichols, *Progresses*, 3. 180–181, cf. 3. 175).

<sup>202</sup> Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>203</sup> *Essays* (Miscellaneous Works, 11th ed., 1722, 1. 30–31).

<sup>204</sup> Robert Heyrick's letter, October 15, 1616 (printed by Nichols, *Leicestershire*, Vol. 2. Part ii., p. 471\*).

<sup>205</sup> Nichols, *Progresses*, 3. 192–193; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1611–1618, p. 398. We can make out a satisfactory account of the case by comparing Osborne with Heyrick's two letters (one of July 18, the other of October 15, 1616, both printed by Nichols, *Leicestershire*, Vol. 2. Part ii., p. 471\*). I have followed Heyrick (as being absolutely contemporary and on the spot) wherever he differs

King James's action in the Leicester case of 1616 took instant effect. The clamor of the populace against witches was not silenced, but the judges henceforth used extraordinary circumspection. They had no mind to incur the royal displeasure. The result should be carefully noted. From July, 1616, until James's death on March 27, 1625, almost exactly nine years, only five persons are known to have been executed for witchcraft in England.<sup>206</sup> Two of these were hanged at Bristol in 1624, and I have no details.<sup>207</sup> One — Elizabeth Sawyer of Edmonton — confessed after conviction.<sup>208</sup> The other two were Margaret and Philippa Flower, who were executed at Lincoln on March 11, 1619. Their case is very remarkable. A bare statement of facts will prove how impossible it was for any jury to acquit them or any king to show them favor. Incidentally, we should observe that they would have been hanged under the Elizabethan statute.

Joan Flower was a foul-mouthed old woman, much given to cursing, and suspected by her neighbors of being a witch. She was incensed at the Countess of Rutland for discharging her daughter, Margaret Flower, from service at Belvoir Castle, though there were good grounds for it, and though the Countess had treated the girl with much kindness. Soon after, three of the Earl's children fell sick, and two of them died, one his eldest son. The Earl, it seems, had no suspicion against the Flowers. Ultimately, however, Joan and her two daughters were arrested, doubtless as a result of local gossip. Joan Flower was never tried for the crime. At the time, as it appears, of her examination, she defiantly sub-

from Osborne. Heyrick does not mention the king, but Osborne's testimony as to James's intervention is corroborated in all essentials by Chamberlain's letter of October 12, 1616 (Nichols, *Progresses*, 3. 192-193; *Calendar*, 1611-1618, p. 398). Osborne, by the way, speaks of his narrative as follows: "I will here relate a story of my own knowledge" (p. 29).

<sup>206</sup> Mr. William Wheater's statement that six persons suffered death for witchcraft at York in 1622 (*Old Yorkshire*, ed. by William Smith, 4. 266) is a mistake. This was the Fairfax case. Six persons were indicted, but all of them were discharged without a complete trial (see p. 63, below).

<sup>207</sup> John Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 91.

<sup>208</sup> There was no torture. She confessed to the minister, Henry Goodcole, for her soul's sake. See Goodcole's narrative, *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer*, 1621, reprinted in *The Works of John Ford*, ed. 1895 (Bullen), 1. lxxxi ff.



jected herself to a strange test. She "called for Bread and Butter, and wished it might never go through if she were guilty of that wherevpon she was examined: so mumbling it in her mouth, never spoke more words after, but fell doune and dyed as she was carryed to Lincolne Goale." Both her daughters confessed and were hanged.<sup>209</sup> There can be no vestige of doubt in any unprejudiced mind that these three women were guilty in intent. They had practised what they supposed to be witchcraft in order to destroy the children, and they believed they had succeeded. We may pity them for their malicious infatuation, but we cannot deny that their fate was deserved. Nor was it conceivable that they should escape it when God himself seemed to have pronounced their guilt.

Five executions, then, make the whole account for the last nine years of King James's reign, and with regard to two of these, there could be no suspicion of counterfeiting. The Earl's children had really died, and the accused had certainly tried to kill them by sorcery. Here there was no ground on which the king's acumen in detecting imposture could work, nor could any amount of caution on the part of the judges avoid the plain conclusion.<sup>210</sup>

<sup>209</sup> The Wonderfull Discoverie of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Philip Flower, 1619.

<sup>210</sup> We may laugh at witchcraft, but it by no means follows that all the afflicted persons were impostors or that the defendants were always guiltless. The children who cried out on the Salem goodwives and the numerous other "young liars" (as one unsympathetic writer has called them) were *really* afflicted, though the cause was mistaken. Much of their play-acting was a part of their disease. As for the witches themselves (I do not here refer to Salem in particular), it is clear that many of them were malignant creatures who did what they could to get into communion with the fiend and thought they had succeeded. As Mr. Andrew Lang well remarks, "There can be little doubt that many witches were in intention malevolent enough. They believed in their own powers, and probably dealt in poison on occasion" (History of Scotland, 2. 352). Others were precocious experimenters in supernatural mental states. I need but refer to Professor Wendell's suggestive essay on the Salem witches (Stelligeri, 1893; cf. his Cotton Mather, pp. 93 ff.) and to Mr. Brodie-Innes's paper on Scottish Witchcraft Trials, in which this fruitful subject of investigation is broached, with illuminating remarks. Neither professes to do more than raise the question. The undiscovered country of witch pathology awaits its trained explorer. Meantime we may speak respectfully of some of our elders — Wierus, Scot, Webster, Bekker, and Meric Casaubon (not all of them on the same side) — who have made wise observations needing only to be translated from the obsolete technical language of their day in order to appeal to the modern alienist. For cases of genuine and indubitable attempts at sorcery, see, for example,

But the effect of King James's rebuke of the Leicester justices is visible not only (by inference) in the lack of executions. It may also be traced in more positive ways. In 1620 occurred the notorious fraud of William Perry, the Boy of Bilson. The supposed witch was acquitted at the Stafford assizes, August 10, 1620, and the judges intrusted Perry to Bishop Morton, who was present. Morton detected the trick, and at the next summer assizes, June 26, 1621, the boy made public amends, asking forgiveness of the alleged witch, who was there to receive this rehabilitation.<sup>211</sup> James was not personally active — so far as we know — in this exposure, but that it was pleasing to him we can infer, not only from our general knowledge, but from the fact that Arthur Wilson, in his *History of Great Britain*, published in 1653, appends to the story the following observation: "The King took delight by the *line* of his *Reason* to sound the depth of such *brutish Impostors*, and he discovered many." Then, after reporting the case of Haydock, the Sleeping Preacher, Wilson continues: "Some others, both men and women, inspired with such *Enthusiasms*, and *fanatick fancies*, he reduced to their right *senses*, applying his *Remedies* suitable to the *Distemper*, wherein he made himself often very merry . . . but some of their Stories being a little *coarse*, are not fit to be here related."<sup>212</sup>

Tributes to King James's interest in detecting fraudulent cases are offered not only by Osborne (who speaks of "the charge he gave the Judges, to be circumspect in condemning those, committed by ignorant Justices, for Diabolical Compacts"),<sup>213</sup> but by Bishop Goodman, and by Fuller. Goodman's testimony is brief, but to the purpose. James, he says, "was ever apt to search into secrets, to try conclusions [*i.e.* experiments], as I did know some who saw him run to see one in a fit whom they said was bewitched."<sup>214</sup> Fuller provides

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 2d Series, 18. 140 ff.; W. M. Hart, *Archæologia*, 40. 397. Examples are countless.

<sup>211</sup> Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, 1718, pp. 217 ff. (from the narrative). Cf. *The Second Part of the Boy of Bilson*, 1698, pp. 1-9; Gee, *The Foot out of the Snare*, 1624, pp. 53-54.

<sup>212</sup> Pp. 111-112. For Wilson's own skepticism on the subject of witchcraft, see his *Autobiography*, in Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. 2. Book xii, pp. 26-27.

<sup>213</sup> Essay i. (*Miscellaneous Works*, 11th edition, 1722, p. 29). Cf. p. 48, above.

<sup>214</sup> *Court of King James the First*, ed. Brewer, 1839, 1. 3.

an elaborate *testimonium*.<sup>215</sup> After telling of the Boy of Bilson, he continues as follows:

"Indeed, all this king's reign was scattered over with cheaters of this kind. Some papists, some sectaries, some neither, as who dissembled such possession, either out of malice to be revenged on those whom they accused of witchcraft, or covetous to enrich themselves."

Then, after giving several examples, which he calls "a few out of many,"<sup>216</sup> he concludes thus:—

"King James . . . was no less dexterous than desirous to make discovery of these deceits. Various were his ways in detecting them, aweing some into confession with his presence, others by promise of pardon and fair usage. He ordered it so, that a proper courtier made love to one of these bewitched maids, and quickly Cupid's arrows drave out the pretended darts of the devil. Another there was, the tides of whose possession did so ebb and flow, that punctually they observed one hour till the king came to visit her. The maid, loath to be so unmannerly as to make his majesty attend her time, antedated her fits many hours, and instantly ran through the whole zodiac of tricks which she used to play. A third, strangely affected when the first verse of St. John's Gospel was read unto her in our translation, was tame and quiet whilst the same was pronounced in Greek, her English devil belike understanding no other language. The frequency of such forged possessions wrought such an alteration upon the judgment of King James, that he, receding from what he had written in his *Demonology*, grew first diffident of, and then flatly to deny the workings of witches and devils as but falsehoods and delusions."<sup>217</sup> It seems probable that Fuller goes too far in this last statement, though Osborne says something to the same effect.<sup>218</sup> It is not likely that King James ever gave up his theoretical belief in witchcraft.<sup>219</sup> It is clear, however, that, in his later years,

<sup>215</sup> Church History, Book x., cent. xvii., §§ 54–57 (ed. Brewer, 5. 448–452). Cf. Gifford's Jonson, 7. 140, note 4.

<sup>216</sup> § 56. The only case that we can date is Haydock's (see p. 55, above).

<sup>217</sup> § 57 (5. 451–452).

<sup>218</sup> Essay i. (see p. 48, above).

<sup>219</sup> The *Dæmonologie* (unmodified) was included in the authorized edition of the king's Works in 1616.



he came close to the opinion pronounced, in 1711, by Addison in a famous passage (echoed by Blackstone): "I believe in general that there is, and has been such a thing as witchcraft; but at the same time can give no credit to any particular instance of it."<sup>220</sup> But we must return to King James's good influence on the judges.

This influence comes out very clearly in the Fairfax case, six years after James's rebuke to Justice Winch and Serjeant Crew.<sup>221</sup> In 1622, Edward Fairfax, the translator of Tasso, brought six women before the York assizes on the charge of bewitching his two daughters. The fits had lasted for several months and were similar to those of the Throckmorton girls: the Warboys narrative was still doing its work. At the same assizes, one of Fairfax's neighbors, a gentleman named John Jeffray, accused the same defendants of bewitching his daughter Maud. The grand jury was exceptionally intelligent, including six justices of the peace. It had already "received a good *caveat* by a message from the judge to be very careful in the matter of witches."<sup>222</sup> Yet it found a true bill, and the trial began.

The six women were arraigned on August 9, 1622.<sup>223</sup> Mark the course of proceedings. All three of the afflicted girls fell into a trance in the presence of the court and were carried out insensible. Sir George Ellis and some other justices, leaving the bench, followed, and exerted themselves to discover the imposture that they suspected. They soon returned, declaring that the Jeffray girl had confessed that she had acted throughout by the direction of her parents. Maud Jeffray denied that she had made the alleged admissions; but her father was sent to jail forthwith, and his charge was dismissed.<sup>224</sup> The Fairfax girls, however, had not been found to be counterfeiting, and the trial of that case went on. But the court was determined to avoid the mistake made at Leicester in 1616. The presiding justice, after

<sup>220</sup> Spectator for July 14, 1711 (No. 117); cf. Blackstone, Commentaries, Book iv., chap. 4, sect. 6 (4th edition, 1770, 4. 60-61).

<sup>221</sup> Full details of this case are given in Fairfax's own narrative, entitled *Dæmonologia* (edited by William Grainge, Harrogate, 1882).

<sup>222</sup> Fairfax says this message was delivered to the grand jury in his hearing (p. 126).

<sup>223</sup> Fairfax, p. 126.

<sup>224</sup> Pp. 123-127.

some witnesses had been heard, instructed the jury that the evidence "reached not to the point of the statute," stopped the trial, and discharged the defendants.<sup>225</sup> Thereafter it was "given out," as Fairfax tells us, that "Jeffray and his family devised the practice, to which they drew my eldest daughter, and she the younger." Fairfax himself was exonerated.<sup>226</sup>

Here we see the influence of the king's precept and example at every turn. The grand jury was warned to be careful, the judges were eager to discover an imposture, and, thinking they had done so, yet not daring to trust the jury to acquit, they found that the facts alleged did not bring the case under the statute and took it away from the jury. And finally—as if to leave to posterity no doubt whatever of the first source of all this caution and circumspection—Fairfax mentions King James in the most unequivocal way. His narrative is, in effect, an appeal from the judges to public opinion. *His* daughters, he maintains, are certainly no tricksters; they are in an altogether different category from "*those whose impostures our wise king so lately laid open.*"<sup>227</sup>

Nor did the good effects of King James's skeptical temper and of the lesson he taught the judges cease with his death. I can find but one execution for witchcraft in the first seven years of Charles I. Then occurred the famous case of the Lancashire Witches of 1633. On this occasion seventeen persons were convicted, but the judge did not believe in their guilt, and brought the matter to the king's attention. A careful investigation ensued, and none of the alleged witches suffered death. Hitherto this case has been regarded as marking a contrast between Charles's creed and practice and the acts and belief of his father. Mr. Crossley, who is so severe on King James, praises King Charles warmly for thus "distinguishing himself . . . in days when philosophy stumbled and murder arrayed itself in the robes of justice—by an enlightened exercise of the kingly prerogative of mercy."<sup>228</sup> Wright remarks that "Charles I. had not the same weak prejudices in these matters as his father."<sup>229</sup> It

<sup>225</sup> P. 127.    <sup>226</sup> P. 124.    <sup>227</sup> P. 81.    <sup>228</sup> Edition of Potts's *Discoverie*, p. lxxvii.

<sup>229</sup> *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, 2. 117.

is well to approve King Charles, whose personal record on this matter of witchcraft is laudable, but it must now be quite clear that he was merely following his father's praiseworthy example.

[Our scrutiny of King James's record is finished. No summing up is necessary. The defendant is acquitted by the facts. One final remark, however, may be made, in lieu of a peroration. Diligent search has so far brought to light less than forty executions for witchcraft throughout England in the reign of James I., or an average of about two a year. Contrast with this statement the fact that in ten years of the same reign (6-15 James I.) at least thirty-two persons were pressed to death in the single County of Middlesex for refusing to plead in cases of felony (not witchcraft), or an average of over *three a year*, and that, in the same county for the same period, at least seven hundred persons were hanged for felonies other than witchcraft, or an average of *seventy a year*.<sup>230</sup> These figures call for no commentary. We may double or treble the number of witch-hangings, if we will, in order to allow for incompleteness in the published records, and it still remains true that the reign of James I. was not, in this regard, a dark and bloody period.]

<sup>230</sup> Jeaffreson, Middlesex County Records, 2. xvii.-xviii., liii.

CAMBRIDGE,

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from G. L. K.

KING JAMES I, AND *THE DEVIL IS AN ASS*

G. L. KITTREDGE





## KING JAMES I AND *THE DEVIL IS AN ASS*

Ben Jonson's satirical comedy, *The Devil Is an Ass*, was presented by the King's Players in 1616 at the Blackfriars. Its contemptuous attitude toward witchcraft and demoniacal possession has been much discussed and heartily approved, but the editors and critics have overlooked a number of circumstances that are highly significant.

We may first notice the scornful words of Satan to Pug, almost at the beginning of the play. They contain a remarkable fling at the credulity of Middlesex juries:

You have some plot now  
Upon a tunning of ale, to stale the yeast,  
Or keep the churn so that the butter come not,  
Spite o' the housewives cord, or her hot spit?  
Or some good ribibe about Kentish Town,  
Or Hogsden, you would hang now for a witch,  
Because she will not let you play round Robin;  
And you'll go sour the citizens' cream 'gainst Sunday,  
That she may be accus'd for't, and condemn'd  
By a Middlesex jury, to the satisfaction  
Of their offended friends, the Londoners' wives,  
Whose teeth were set on edge with it? (I, i, 12-23)<sup>1</sup>

The allusion is obviously to three witch trials of the preceding year. In 1615 Elizabeth Rutter, Joan Hunt, and Agnes Berry had severally been convicted of witchcraft by Middlesex juries and hanged. Agnes Berry was charged with causing Grace Halsey to "languish and waste away." Joan Hunt was indicted for bewitching to death an infant of three years. Against Elizabeth Rutter there were no less than four indictments, three of them for murder by

<sup>1</sup>The following remark about Middlesex juries is worth quoting here. It occurs in a letter from Bacon to James I (January 22, 1616) concerning the trial of Somerset for the murder of Overbury: "I said to your Majesty that which I do now repeat, that the evidence upon which my Lord of Somerset standeth indicted is of a good strong thread, considering impoisoning is the darkest of offences; but that the thread must be well spun and woven together. For your Majesty knoweth it is one thing to deal with a jury of Middlesex and Londoners, and another to deal with the Peers; whose objects perhaps will not be so much what is before them in the present case (which I think is as odious to them as to the vulgar) but what may be hereafter" (Spedding, *Letters and Life of Bacon*, V, 231).

witchcraft.<sup>1</sup> These trials must have made a great noise, for the hanging of witches was a rare event in Middlesex. Mr. Jeaffreson, the editor of the *Middlesex Records*, has found only these three executions for witchcraft in that county during the whole of James the First's reign,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Inderwick has discovered only eight such executions in Middlesex for a period of over one hundred and sixteen years (1550-1666).<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, then, the cases of 1615 were what suggested to Jonson the composition of a play which should satirize witchcraft.

In the fifth act Jonson brought in a scene of sham demoniacal possession. His procedure can hardly have been directly suggested by the Middlesex trials of the preceding year, for these involved neither possession nor fraud. There are, to be sure, cases of demoniacal possession in Machiavelli's *Belfegor*, but the patients are really possessed and the circumstances have no resemblance to those in the drama. Indeed, Jonson owes nothing to the *Belfegor* except perhaps the mere hint for Pug's futile expedition to this world. The most superficial comparison of the drama with the novel will suffice to show that Jonson's demoniac scene is not indebted to the *Belfegor* for anything whatever, in general or in particular. It is absolutely independent of the Italian in all respects. We cannot even hold that the *Belfegor* suggested to Jonson the inclusion of a demoniac scene. For our present purposes, then, the *Belfegor* may be ignored, and the same is true of *Friar Rush*. What we need is a notorious example of fraudulent possession occurring just before the play appeared, and the impostor should be a boy of about thirteen. For Meercraft, in persuading Fitzdottrel to counterfeit, remarks encouragingly—

Sir, be confident,  
'Tis no hard thing t' outdo the devil in:  
A boy o' thirteen year old made him an ass  
But t'other day.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Middlesex County Records*, ed. by J. C. Jeaffreson, II, 108, 110, 116, 218-19. Both Joan Hunt and her husband William had been tried on charges of witchcraft and acquitted in 1614 (II, 95, 96, 217, 218).

<sup>2</sup> II, liii. There were doubtless other executions (for the records are incomplete) but there cannot have been many. One occurred in 1621 (Henry Goodcole, *The Wonderful Discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer*, 1621, reprinted in Bullen's *Ford*, 1895, I, lxxx-cvii).

<sup>3</sup> *Side-Lights on the Stuarts*, 2d ed., 1891, pp. 169-70.

<sup>4</sup> V, 5, 48-51 (Jonson's numbering). It is well known that Jonson used the sixteenth-century Darrel cases for details; but what we are discussing is not the minutiae of the scene, but the moving cause, the occasion for including it at all.

The case which Meercraft cites must be that of young Smith, of Husbands Bosworth, Leicestershire. We have two accounts of the affair. One, strictly contemporary, is embodied in a letter written on July 18, 1616, by Alderman Robert Heyrick, of Leicester, to his younger brother, Sir William, in London.<sup>1</sup> The other, less accurate, but furnishing valuable details, may be found in Francis Osborne's first Essay.<sup>2</sup> The business is also mentioned in a letter from Secretary Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated October 12, 1616.<sup>3</sup>

Heyrick's letter is worth reprinting, for it is important, and Nichols's *Leicestershire* (which contains it) is not very common in this country.

Although we have bene greatly busyed this 4 or 5 days past, being syse tyme, and a busy syse speacyally about the araynment of a sort of woemen, Wytches, w<sup>t</sup> 9 of them shal be executed at the gallows this fornone, for bewitching of a younge gentellman of the adge of 12 or 13 years old, beinge the soon of one Mr. Smythe, of Husbands Bosworth, brother to Mr. Henry Smythe, that made the booke which we call Mr. Smythe's Sarmons. Your man Sampson stays, and yt is to tedyous to write anny one thing unto you of the matter; and the examynacyons and finding out of the matter came to my hand in wryting just as I began your lettarr. Only I will signifye unto you of the chyld's straundg fits, who was brought hythar of Sayturday last to be shewed to the Judges; and since his coming hither he hath had dyvars wonderfull straundg fyts in the syght of all the greatest parsons here, as dyvers knyghts and ladies, and manny othars of the bettar sort, most tereble to be tolld. Sir Henry Hastings hath doon what he colld to hold him in his fit; but he and another as strong as he could not hold him; yf he might have his arm at liberty, he woold stryke himsellfe suche bloes on his brest, being in his shirt, that you myght here the sound of yt the length of a long chamber, soumtymys 50 bloes, soumtymys 100, yea soumtymys 2 or

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Nichols's *Leicestershire*, II, ii, 471\*, along with another letter of Heyrick's on the further history of the case, dated October 15, 1616. Cf. *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1829, Vol. XCIX, Part II, pp. 515-16 (*Gentleman's Magazine Library*, ed. Gomme, *Popular Superstitions*, 1884, p. 235); Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, III, 193, n. 1; Gifford, *Ford*, 1827, I, clxxii-clxxiii, clxxx; Dyce's *Ford*, 1869, III, 276; James Thompson, *History of Leicester*, 1849, pp. 344-45; Foss, *Judges of England*, VI, 202. Alderman Heyrick died June 14, 1618, at the age of seventy-eight; his brother, Sir William, was the king's jeweler (see Nichols, *Progresses*, II, 463, n. 3; III, 180, n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> "On such as condemn All they understand not a Reason for" (*Miscellaneous Works*, 11th ed., 1722, I, 29-31). Osborne was born in 1593; the essay was first published in 1659, the year of his death. In introducing the anecdote, he remarks, "I will here relate a Story of my own Knowledge"; but he was writing a good while after the event. Hence I ignore certain of his statements that are inconsistent with Heyrick or Chamberlain.

<sup>3</sup> Printed by Nichols, *Progresses*, III, 192-93 (cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 398).



300 bloes, that the least of them was able to stryke doune a strong man; and yet all he did to himself did him no hurt. 6 of the witches had 6 severall sperits, one in the lyknes of a hors, another like a dog, another a cat, another a pullemar,<sup>1</sup> another a fishe, another a code,<sup>2</sup> with whom evary one of them tormented him: he woould make soom syne according to the sperit; as, when the hors tormented him, he woould whinny; when the cat tormented him, he would cry like a cat, &c. When he was in his fyt, they were soomtymes brought to him, and then they were chardged to speake sarten words, and to name theare sperits, and one of them to speake yt aftar another; as thus: "I such a one chardge the hors, yf I be a wiche, that thou com forthe of the child." And then another by her sperit to doe the like; and so till all had doone. Yf anny of them woould speake a woord contrary to that charm, he shold be myghtyly tormented; but, if he<sup>3</sup> would speake as he had first directed them, at the end of the last he woould fall out of his fit as quyetly as if one did lay him doune to slepe. For the rest, I leave till it please God we meete. Leicester, the 18th of July, 1616.

Your loving brother,  
ROBERT HEYRICKE.

Smith, it will be noted, is described by Heyrick as "a younge gentellman of the adge of 12 or 13 years old." This fits the words of our text. The recency of the occurrence is indicated by the phrase which Meercraft uses, "but t'other day." This phrase rules out the Boy of Burton (1596)<sup>4</sup> and the Boy of Northwich (1601 and 1602),<sup>5</sup> and leaves young Smith alone in the field.

Heyrick's letter enables us to identify the pretended demoniac as a nephew of Henry Smith, lecturer at St. Clement Danes, apostrophized by Nashe in *Piers Penniless* (1592) as "silver-tongued"

<sup>1</sup> A misreading for *fullemar* (a founmart or polecat).

<sup>2</sup> Clearly a misreading for *tode*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably we should read *she*.

<sup>4</sup> This was Thomas Darling of Burton-on-Trent, who was exorcised in 1596 by the famous John Darrel. He was about fourteen years old. Jonson mentions him in V, 3, 7, in connection with other supposed demoniacs relieved by "little Darrel's tricks." See Harsnet, *Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises of Iohn Darrel*, 1599, pp. 2, 22, 37, 28; Darrel, *Detection of S. Harshnet*, 1600, pp. 9-11, 16, 38-40, etc.; Darrel, *Doctrin of the Possession*, etc. (appended to his *True Narration*, 1600), pp. 6 ff., 11 ff., 26, 38.

<sup>5</sup> This was Thomas Harrison, of Northwich in Cheshire. Deacon and Walker discuss the case in their *Summarie Answer to Darrel*, 1601, pp. 70 ff. Darrel, in *A Survey of Certain Dialogical Discourses*, 1602, p. 54, says that the boy is "at this present very greuously vexed by Sathan." See particularly John Bruen's memoranda in William Hinde's *Life of Bruen* (Samuel Clarke's *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, Part II, Book II, 2d ed., 1675, pp. 94-96); cf. also Thomas Cooper, *The Mystery of Witch-craft*, 1617, sig. A 3. Gifford (after exploding Whalley's suggestion of the Boy of Bilson on the convincing ground that his fraud was four years after Jonson wrote the play) advanced the erroneous suggestion that Jonson was referring to Thomas Harrison. But Harrison's is far too early a case: 1602 was not "t'other day" in 1616.

Smith,<sup>1</sup> one of the most famous preachers of the late sixteenth century. The family was old, rich, and of high standing among the gentry.<sup>2</sup> The boy's grandfather, Erasmus Smith, had married for his second wife a sister of the great Lord Burghley. The boy's father, Roger (afterwards Sir Roger<sup>3</sup>) Smith, had many children, one of whom, Erasmus, at this time about six years old, became a distinguished educational benefactor; he was an ancestor of the present Earls of Derby (who from 1776 to 1869 bore the surname of Smith-Stanley).<sup>4</sup> The demoniac's Christian name is not mentioned, but an inspection of the Smith pedigree suffices to identify him, with considerable probability, as the eldest of Roger Smith's children by his second wife—namely John Smith, who died unmarried at the age of forty.<sup>5</sup> This identification becomes practically certain when we observe that there is a document at Belvoir Castle (referred to July, 1610) containing "an account partly taken from the depositions of Sir Henry Hastings, the High Sheriff, of the bewitching of John Smith by Randall and other witches."<sup>6</sup> Sir Henry Hastings was Sheriff of Leicestershire for one year only—the fifth of James I (1607–8).<sup>7</sup> If John Smith was thirteen years old in 1616, he must have been a child of four or five when these earlier depositions were taken before Hastings. Manifestly he suffered from hysteropilepsy, of which lying and imposture are well-recognized symptoms.

<sup>1</sup> *Works*, ed. McKerrow, I, 192. Nashe labels the paragraph "Encomium H. Smithi." Smith had died in the preceding year (1591). Fuller also testifies to the epithet "silver-tongued" as applied to this eloquent preacher (*Life*, prefixed to Smith's *Sermons*).

<sup>2</sup> A good account of the Smith (originally Herez) family, with pedigrees, may be found in Nichols, *Leicestershire*, II, i, 180–85, 389–92. See also the pedigree in the *Visitation of the County of Leicester in 1619* (Harleian Society, II), pp. 66–67. Henry Smith, the preacher, and his nephew Erasmus are included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> He was knighted at Whitehall in 1635, and died in 1655, at the age of 84 (Nichols, II, i, 180, 185).

<sup>4</sup> Doyle, *Official Baronage*, I, 563–65.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Roger Smith's second wife, Ann Goodman, of London, who died in 1652, aged 66, had issue by him "sonns and daughters twentie-two" according to her epitaph (Nichols, II, i, 181). Nobody has hitherto attempted to identify the demoniac among this wilderness of offspring, but it is quite certain that he was one of the children of this second marriage and that he was older than his brother Erasmus—and John is the only person in the pedigree who satisfies both conditions.

<sup>6</sup> *Manuscripts of the Earl of Rutland*, I, 422 (*Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Twelfth Report*, Appendix, Part IV). The document is dated "July." The year is supplied by the cataloguer, on what grounds I do not know. The year of Sir Henry Hastings's shrievalty settles the date of the phenomena.

<sup>7</sup> Nichols, *Leicestershire*, I, 641.

The suspicion of witchcraft which his fits excited in 1607 or 1608 does not appear to have resulted in any convictions. But in 1616, as we learn from Heyrick, his disease brought about the death of nine alleged witches. Probably the malady lasted as long as he lived, for, as we have seen, he never married and he died at a comparatively early age.

Sir Henry Hastings, we observe, is mentioned in Heyrick's letter of July 18, 1616, as interested in the witch trials of that year. Doubtless (as on the previous occasion) some of the depositions were taken before him as Justice of the Peace. It is interesting to notice that this is true also of a part of the evidence in the trial of Margaret and Philip (i.e., Philippa) Flower, who were hanged in 1619 for bewitching to death two children of the Earl of Rutland.<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry was a man of importance. He was a grandson of the Earl of Huntingdon, and his seat was at Braunston, Leicestershire.<sup>2</sup>

It is natural that the second accusation of witchcraft (in 1616) should have had a more sinister outcome than the first (in 1607 or 1608). For John Smith was now old enough not only to make definite charges against particular persons, but to supply details and play tricks with that subtlety which is an effect and a symptom of his disease. And in the meantime he had of course learned much about witchcraft phenomena from the talk of his elders. We may feel confident that he had heard, for example, of the afflicted Throckmorton girls, of Warboys in Huntingdonshire, who also belonged to a distinguished county family, and whose case had received wide currency. The charm which Heyrick says the accused were made to repeat ("I such a one charge the horse, if I be a witch, that thou come forth of the child") is patterned after a formula devised by the hysterical Throckmorton girls and used in the Warboys trials ("As I am a Witch, and did consent to the death of the Lady Cromwell, so I charge the deuil to suffer Mistress Iane to come out of her fit at this present").<sup>3</sup> As in the Warboys case, the officers of the law

<sup>1</sup> *The Wonderfull Discoverie of The Witch-crafts of Margaret and Philip Flower*, 1619, sig. C 3.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Hastings of Braunston, Knight, was the son of Walter Hastings, Esq., of Kirby and Braunston, who was the sixth son of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon. Sir Henry was M.P. for the County of Leicester in 18 James I, and again in 1626. He died in September, 1649. See Nichols, *Leicestershire*, I, 456, 461; III, ii, 608; IV, ii, 610, 612, 617-19, 627.

<sup>3</sup> *The Witches of Warboys*, 1593, sig. P. 2 r°.



were doubtless inclined to give readier credence to persons of the intelligence and social position of the Smiths than they would have given to ignorant villagers or farm-laborers.

The women to whose malice poor John Smith ascribed his affliction in 1616 were tried in that year at the July assizes at Leicester, before Sir Humphrey Winch (Justice of the Common Pleas) and Serjeant (Sir Randal or Ranulph) Crew. Nine were duly convicted, and they were hanged on the 18th.<sup>1</sup>

Almost exactly a month later, King James visited Leicester in the course of a royal progress. He remained there only a single day (arriving on August 15th and leaving the town on the 16th).<sup>2</sup> But he found leisure for a humane and enlightened act. Young Smith was still having his fits, and six more witches were in prison, awaiting the autumn assizes.<sup>3</sup> James had long been skeptical about such matters, and he prided himself on exposing sham demoniacs and other impostors. He called the boy before him and soon detected the fraud. But there was not time to sift the matter to the bottom. Accordingly, the king sent young Smith to Archbishop Abbot at Lambeth for further examination, with the result that he made a full confession of his tricks. Abbot then sent the boy to the king, before whom he made a complete exhibition of his imposture.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, on or about October 15, 1616, by a writ to the High Sheriff of Leicestershire, the five witches still in custody were released without a trial—the sixth had died in the meantime.<sup>5</sup>

As to Justice Winch and Serjeant Crew, we have the best possible evidence that they incurred the royal displeasure for their part in the affair. "Justice Winch . . . and Serjeant Crew," writes

<sup>1</sup> Heyrick's letter of July 18, 1616; Chamberlain to Carleton (Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, III, 192-93). Cf. Foss, *Judges of England*, VI, 202.

<sup>2</sup> The king was on his way toward Windsor. He spent the night of August 14th at Nottingham, where he remained for one night only. On the 15th he went to Leicester. After passing the night there, he went to Dingley on the 16th (Nichols, *Progresses*, III, 180, 186; cf. III, 175).

<sup>3</sup> Heyrick's letter of October, 1616 (see n. 5, below). Cf. Osborne, I, 30; Chamberlain to Carleton, October 12, 1616.

<sup>4</sup> Osborne, I, 30-31.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of Robert Heyrick to Sir William Heyrick (Nichols, *Leicestershire*, II, ii, 471\*):

I received your letter yesterday, dated the 10th of October, 1616; for which I thank you hartly, for I thought y<sup>t</sup> long since I hard any thinge from you; for anny news I heare but from you I account it but uncertayne. I am desyrous to signefye unto

Secretary Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton on October 12, 1616, "are somewhat discountenanced for hanging certain Witches in their circuit at Leicester; whereas the king, coming that way, found out the juggling and imposture of the boy, that counterfeited to be bewitched."<sup>1</sup>

All these facts throw light on Jonson's famous demoniac scene in *The Devil Is an Ass* (V, viii), in which the justice, Sir Paul Eitherside, witnesses Fitzdottrel's pretended fit of possession and is convinced that he is suffering from witchcraft. It is no longer possible to identify Sir Paul with Coke, even "partially," as Dr. W. S. Johnson does.<sup>2</sup> So far as the satire is personal, it is manifestly aimed at Sir Humphrey Winch, the judge who had presided at the Leicester witch trials in July, when the Smith boy played his tricks successfully in the presence of the bench. We should note, by the way, that Sir Paul Eitherside is not treated contumeliously by Jonson. When Fitzdottrel confesses, and Manly says to the justice, "Are you not asham'd now of your solemn, serious vanity [i.e., foolishness]?" Sir Paul answers, like a dignified and conscientious gentleman, "I will make honorable amends to truth."<sup>3</sup>

The Smith boy, as we have seen, had been sent to Archbishop Abbot about August 15th, 1616. The archbishop's men, so Osborne

you of the Witches, but it must be in my next; for they be but this day, as I am informed, examyned before Mr. Mair and the Justisis, and Docktor Lambe, in our Town-hall; and to-morrow I shall know the substaunce of the matter; and then you shall here how the matter goes w<sup>th</sup> them. So, with my love and hartiest salutatyons to yourself and my Lady doone, I leave you to the Most Highest. Leicester, the 15th of October.

Your loving brother,

ROBERT HEYRICKE.

Since wryting of the above, the under sherive, by a warrant directed to the highesherive, hath set the 5 Witches at liberty; the sixt is ded in the gayle.

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, III, 192-93 (cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 398). Mr. Inderwick, whose essay on Witchcraft in his *Side-Lights on the Stuarts* contains much valuable material along with a great variety of curious errors, gives an oddly distorted account of the Leicester affair. He says that it was on October 12 that James discovered the imposture of the "boys," and that "some time afterwards, . . . certain witches were tried for this very witchcraft, and, being convicted, were hanged by order of Justice Winch." "This," adds Mr. Inderwick, "was considered so impertinent an invasion of the king's prerogative, that the judge was disgraced for having allowed the case to be tried after the king himself had decided it" (2d ed., 1891, p. 150).

<sup>2</sup> "It is certain that Coke is partially responsible for this portraiture. . . . On the other hand, it is improbable that the picture was aimed exclusively at Coke" (W. S. Johnson, *The Devil Is an Ass*, 1905, p. lxxii, *Yale Studies in English*, XXIX). Fleay's identification of Coke with Fitzdottrel (*Biographical Chronicle*, I, 382-83) had already been properly rejected by Johnson as a patent absurdity.

<sup>3</sup> V, viii, 145-47.

informs us, brought him to a full confession, at Lambeth, "in a few weeks." "He was sent back to his Majesty," continues Osborne, "before the end of the Progress; where, upon a small entreaty, he would repeat all his Tricks often times in a Day."<sup>1</sup> These exhibitions must have taken place at Windsor between the 3d and the 17th of September, the progress ending on the latter date.<sup>2</sup> Their first result was the "discountenancing" of Winch and Crew, of which Chamberlain speaks in his letter of October 12th. Their second result was the examination of the surviving witches at Leicester before the Mayor,<sup>3</sup> certain justices, and Dr. Lambe, on October 15th, and their release either on that day or soon after.<sup>4</sup> Dr. John Lambe's presence is significant. He was an eminent ecclesiastical jurist and was vicar of the Bishop of Peterborough, in whose diocese Leicester is included.<sup>5</sup> Doubtless he attended the examination because of instructions from Lambeth. If Winch sat on the bench at this session, he probably used the opportunity (in Justice Eitherside's phrase) to "make honorable amends to truth." The "discountenancing" of Winch and Crew was not serious, no doubt because the king's justifiable self-satisfaction at his own cleverness and its fortunate issue overweighed his anger. On the 7th of October, it was rumored at St. James's that Crew was to succeed Coke as chief-justice.<sup>6</sup> It is safe to infer that the royal disfavor became known at court between October 7 and October 12 (the date on which Chamberlain reported it to Carleton). Between these two dates the king probably expressed his feelings by some snub in word or act.

My suggestion, therefore, that Jonson's demoniac scene alludes

<sup>1</sup> Osborne, I, 30-31.

<sup>2</sup> Windsor was the last gist of the progress. The king was to arrive there on August 29, and to remain "during pleasure" (Nichols, III, 180). In fact, however, he did not reach Windsor until after September 3, for Chamberlain writes to Carleton on that day that he "keeps much about Windsor, though he has not yet been there." On the 7th he was at Windsor, and he remained until the 15th or 16th (Nichols, III, 188-90; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 392; *Venetian, 1615-1617*, pp. 290, 297, 301). On the 17th he was at Theobalds, and the progress was finished (Nichols, III, 190; cf. *Calendar, Domestic*, pp. 392, 394).

<sup>3</sup> The Mayor of Leicester was Thomas Herrick (Ericke) (Nichols, *Leicestershire*, I, 425).

<sup>4</sup> Heyrick's October letter.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Lambe took the degree of LL.D. at Cambridge in 1616. Heyrick calls him by his new title. For Lambe's life see *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Lord Danvers to Carleton (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 397.)



to the Smith affair makes it necessary to assign the composition of that scene to the latter part of October or thereabout. Let us see if this date accords with other evidence.

We know that the play was first performed in 1616.<sup>1</sup> The time occupied falls within the limits of a single day. Pug, the fiend, assumes the hanged cutpurse's body in the morning, and is carried off to hell by Iniquity, the vice, that same night.<sup>2</sup> In settling the date of production, we are justified in using whatever indications of the season of the year are afforded by the text, for the day on which the events of the drama occur is identified, by Jonson himself, with the actual day on which it was first acted. This appears from the following passage, in which Wittipol is speaking of Fitzdottrel:

Yes, that's a hir'd suit he now has on,  
To see *The Devil Is an Ass* to-day in.<sup>3</sup>

Two bits of internal evidence are available. (1) In V, ii, 39, Pug remarks, "If we can get a wigeon, 'tis in season." This points to the time of year when wigeons are procurable, but not yet a glut in the market. These birds make their appearance in England about the middle or end of September or early in October.<sup>4</sup> (2) In III, vi, 2-4, Pitfall says:

Canst thou get ne'er a bird?  
No thrushes hungry? Stay till cold weather come,  
I'll help thee to an ouzel or a fieldfare.

Fieldfares arrive in England early in October. They are very shy birds,<sup>5</sup> however, and not until there is snow, or a severe frost, can one readily get within gunshot of them. Then they seek the uplands, to feed upon the hedges, and become not only in better

<sup>1</sup> The year is mentioned in so many words in I, i, 80-81.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I, i, with V, vi-vii. See especially I, i, 133-50; V, vi, 5-10, 48-49; V, vii, 5.

<sup>3</sup> I, iv, 20-21. Cf. also the following passages:

"Fitzdottrel. . . . Art thou sure  
The play is play'd to-day? *Ingrue.* O, here's the bill, sir.  
I had forgot to gi't you. *Fitz.* Ha! the Devil!" (I, iv, 42-44)  
"To-day I go to the Blackfriars playhouse." (I, vi, 31)

<sup>4</sup> F. O. Morris, *History of British Birds*, VII, 29-30; Yarrell, *History of British Birds*, 2d ed., 1845, III, 287; Macgillivray, *History of British Birds*, 1852, V, 87-88.

<sup>5</sup> It is the fieldfare's shyness that gives point to the proverbial "farwel felfefare" (*Troilus*, iii, 861), i.e., "the bird has flown." Cf. Middleton, *Anything for a Quiet Life*, I, ii, 264 ff. (Bullen, V, 255): "When I studied there [at Cambridge], I had so fantastical a brain that, like a felfare frightened in winter by a birding-piece, I could settle nowhere; here and there, a little of several art, and away."

condition as to flesh and flavor, but also easier to approach.<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Cox, in *The Gentleman's Recreation*, instructs his reader thus: "About Michaelmas [September 29], or when the cold weather begins to come in, take your Gun and kill some *Feldfares*."<sup>2</sup>

Pitfall's remark,<sup>3</sup> then, would not be appropriate later than about the first of November, and would certainly fit the middle or latter part of October in any ordinary season. That cold weather has not yet come is shown also by the fact that, when Ambler complains that he had to walk barefoot from the neighborhood of the Lord Mayor's Banqueting House to St. Giles's, he says nothing about suffering from inclement weather.<sup>4</sup>

Both pieces of internal evidence are consistent, it appears, with our fixing the date of the first performance as about the middle or end of October.

Further, when Pug has been arrested and taken to Newgate, Iniquity visits his cell, with a message from the Great Devil:

H' hath sent thee *grant-paroll* by me to stay longer  
A month here on earth.

"How?" cries Pug, "longer here a month?" And the dialogue proceeds:

*Iniquity.* Yes, boy, till the session,  
That so thou mayest have a triumphal egression.  
*Pug.* In a cart, to be hang'd!<sup>5</sup>

That is, in a month there is to be a session of jail delivery, at which Pug will be tried for theft. There was usually such a session for Middlesex early in September, early in October, and early in December, but none in November. If, then, the date of performance (which, we remember, corresponds with that of the action) is the

<sup>1</sup> W. B. Daniel, *Rural Sports*, 1807, III, 149, note; Morris, III, 171-72; Bewick's *History of British Birds*, 1804, I, 103; Col. G. Montagu, *Ornithological Dictionary*, ed. Rennie, 1831, pp. 180-81. Chaucer speaks of "the frosty feldefare" (*Parliament of Fowls*, vs. 364); cf. Skeat on *Troilus*, iii, 861 (*Oxford Chaucer*, II, 479).

<sup>2</sup> 3d ed., 1686, Part II, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Pitfall is punning on *bird* in the sense of "loose woman" (cf. *Mod. Philol.*, VII, 475-77), but the season is indicated all the same. Charles Carter, in his *Compleat City and Country Cook*, 1732, plates 44, 45, reckons wigeons among the birds in season in September, October, and November; fieldfares, among those in season in December, January, and February.

<sup>4</sup> V, i, 26-47.

<sup>5</sup> V, vi, 19-23.

latter part of October, the next session will fall early in December—that is, in round numbers, about a month hence.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it appears that all the internal evidence either points directly to the latter part of October (or thereabout) as the date of presentation, or agrees with that date. Indeed, no other date will satisfy all the conditions. When Jonson began to write the play we cannot tell, but it seems quite clear that he finished it shortly before it was produced. There is nothing in the internal evidence that conflicts in any way with the view which I have expressed, namely, that the demoniac scene in the fifth act was written with an eye to the Leicester case, to the king's detection of the imposture, and to the royal displeasure manifested at the precipitancy and credulity of Justice Winch.

The demoniac scene, indeed, is by no means necessary to the plot, which might just as well be wound up without it. Its connection with the structure of the drama is very loose. Probably Jonson inserted it at the last minute, after the "discountenancing" of Winch and Crew (mentioned in Chamberlain's letter of October 12) had become the talk of the court and the town. We may conjecture that he was on the point of finishing his play when the matter came to his attention, and that he found it too apposite to his general satirical purpose to be disregarded.

The results of our investigations are not trivial, for they have a direct bearing upon the relations between Jonson and James I, as well as upon the status of both poet and king in the history of witchcraft. James is commonly regarded as a frantic and bigoted witch-prosecutor during his English reign, and Jonson has been commended for his enlightenment and independence in taking the other side.<sup>2</sup> In fact, however, James distinguished himself, almost from the very beginning of his reign, as a detector of fraudulent demoniacs, and there is plenty of evidence that he did not encourage

<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact there were ten Old Bailey sessions of jail delivery in 1616—on January 12, February 20, March 15, April 12, May 16, June 26, August 1, September 6, October 4, and December 4 (*Middlesex Court Records*, ed. by J. C. Jeaffreson, II, 218-19).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Aronstein, *Ben Jonson*, 1906, p. 164 (Schick and v. Waldberg, *Literaturhistorische Forschungen*, XXXIV): "Männer wie Bacon und Raleigh zweifelten nicht an der Existenz von Hexen, und Jakob I. hatte bekanntlich selbst ein Werk über Dämonologie geschrieben. Um so höher ist es dem Dichter anzurechnen, dass er es gewagt hat, in seinem Lustspiele diesen Aberglauben kühn zu verspotten."



the prosecution of witches. On the contrary, though he believed in witchcraft in general, it is quite certain that he was disposed to be skeptical with regard to particular examples, and his English reign is by no means a dark and bloody period in the annals of this terrible delusion.<sup>1</sup> In undertaking to write a comedy satirizing witchcraft, Jonson was not braving the king's wrath: he was acting in perfect accord with what he knew to be the king's sentiments, and he must have felt sure of his approval. James and he were not on different sides in this question; they were on the same side.<sup>2</sup> When, therefore, as Jonson was completing his play, a remarkable instance of the king's acumen occurred, resulting in the rescue of five suspected witches, the poet welcomed the opportunity of paying a well-deserved compliment to his royal patron. He inserted a scene of sham demoniacal possession, and pointed the compliment by satirizing the justice whose credulity the king had reproved.

This was not the first time that Jonson had gratified the king by such a compliment. There is a counterfeit demoniac in *Volpone*, the advocate Voltore, who has spasms and pretends to vomit pins.<sup>3</sup> *Volpone* was acted early in 1606. Shortly before, King James had exposed the imposture "of a woman pretended to be bewitched, that cast up at her mouth pynnes, and pynnes were taken by divers in her fitts out of her brest."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence in full, see Kittredge, *English Witchcraft and James I.* Gifford, in 1827, printed a brief but powerful defence of James in his edition of *Ford*, I, clxxi-clxxv, clxxix-clxxx (Dyce's edition, 1869, III, 273-76; Bullen's edition, 1895, III, 273-76). He called attention to Osborne and to Chamberlain's letter of October 12, 1616, but did not perceive the connection of the Leicester case with *The Devil Is an Ass*.

<sup>2</sup> We may note, by the way, that alchemy (satirized by Jonson in *The Alchemist*, 1610) was likewise a subject on which King James was skeptical. In 1620 he made some acute criticisms on the alchemists' fallacious reasoning, to say nothing of a highly characteristic jest (*King James His Apophthegmes*, 1643, pp. 7-8).

<sup>3</sup> V, xii, 8 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, 1593-1616*, ed. by H. S. Scott, p. 70 (*Camden Miscellany*, X). Sir Roger mentions the case along with that of Richard Haydock, the Sleeping Preacher, of New College, Oxford who (as we know) was exposed by King James in April, 1605. Walter Yonge also mentions Haydock's exposure, and couples with it the following item, which must refer to the demoniac woman of whom Wilbraham speaks: "This year there was a gentlewoman and near kinswoman to Doctor Holland's wife, Rector of Exon College in Oxford, strangely possessed and bewitched, so that in her fits she cast out of her nose and mouth pins in great abundance, and did divers other things very strange to be reported" (*Diary of Walter Yonge*, ed. by George Roberts, Camden Society, 1848, p. 12). By "this year" Yonge seems to mean 1606, for the entry immediately preceding is dated "An. D. 1605-1606." But, since he refers Haydock's case to "this year also," we are safe in dating the bewitching of Dr. Holland's wife's

Many students have been puzzled to understand why Jonson, after receiving a royal grant of a hundred marks a year for life in February, 1616,<sup>1</sup> should have seized the earliest opportunity to insult the king by ridiculing witchcraft in *The Devil Is an Ass*. Nor has their perplexity been diminished by observing that the insult caused no interruption in the king's favor, inasmuch as Jonson was employed to write a Christmas masque at the end of the same year. It now appears that *The Devil Is an Ass* was not an insult, but a compliment, so that all grounds for perplexity are happily removed.

Ben Jonson, as is well known, gave Drummond a brief account of *The Devil Is an Ass* in 1619. The passage is as follows:

A play of his, upon which he was accused, The Divell is ane Ass. According to *Comedia Vetus* in England, the Divell was brought in either with one Vice or other; the play done, the Divel carried away the Vice. He brings in the Divel so overcome with the wickedness of this age that thought himself ane Ass. Παρεργως is discoursed of the Duke of Drounland. The King desired him to conceal it.<sup>2</sup>

These jottings of Jonson's talk are rather tantalizing. "Whether the subject which gave offense" was monopolies or witchcraft, writes Dr. W. S. Johnson, "it is impossible to determine."<sup>3</sup> It is clear, however, that some person or persons lodged a complaint against *The Devil Is an Ass*, and that the king promised Jonson immunity if he would not print the play. As we know, Jonson did not publish the text until 1631, six years after James's death.

Perhaps the complainants were Winch and Crew; perhaps the relatives of the young demoniac. In either case the king may well have thought it best to satisfy the aggrieved parties, and at the same time let the poet off, by "desiring" Jonson not to print the drama. The good-natured monarch may have regarded the judges as punished

kinswoman 1605, or early in the following year. *Volpone* is made out by Mr. L. H. Holt to have been presented between March 9 and March 25, 1606 (*Modern Language Notes*, XX, 164-65). Dr. Thomas Holland died March 17, 1611-12. He was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1589 and Rector of Exeter College in 1592, and held both offices till his death (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, II, 111-12; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, II, 731).

<sup>1</sup> Shakspere Variorum of 1821, I, 417, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Jonson's Conversations with Drummond*, ed. Laing, p. 28 (Shakespeare Society, 1842). I have regulated the punctuation, which, as given in the manuscript, obscures the sense. I have also made the obvious correction of Παρεργως for Παρεργους.

<sup>3</sup> *The Devil Is an Ass*, 1905, p. lxi.

enough without the further publicity of type. And he would certainly have considered the feelings of the Smith family, which had abundant wealth and influence and was highly connected. The boy's grandfather, we should remember, had married as his second wife a sister of William Cecil, the great Lord Burghley,<sup>1</sup> and Burghley had more than once used his influence to protect Henry Smith, the eminent preacher,<sup>2</sup> who was the boy's uncle. Burghley's grandson was now Earl of Salisbury. Very likely, however, the accusation had nothing to do with witchcraft, but concerned rather the satire on monopolies, in particular the draining of the fens, a project of great public importance, much canvassed in the reign of James I.

At all events, the language of Drummond's memorandum shows clearly that James protected Jonson—not that he censured or punished him. And this is what we should expect, since the play, as we have seen, was of a kind to give the king much satisfaction.

G. L. KITTREDGE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

May 11, 1911

<sup>1</sup> She was Margery, "relict of Roger Cave" (Nichols, *Leicestershire*, II, i, 185). She married Cave on November 24, 1561 (Fox-Davies, *Genealogy of the Cecils*, in *Historical Monograph, William Cecil Lord Burghley*, 1904, p. 111). Henry Smith speaks of Brian Cave, High Sheriff of Leicestershire, as his uncle (*Three Sermons*, ed. 1624, p. 56: misprinted "Cane"). Brian Cave, of Ingarsby, was High Sheriff of the Counties of Leicester and Warwick in 5-6 Philip and Mary (1558), and of Leicestershire in 11 and 24 Elizabeth (1568-69, 1581-82) (Nichols, I, 460, 461). He died July 30, 1590 (III, i, 280). Roger Cave, of Stanton-on-Avon, who married Margaret (or Margery) Cecil, and died in 1586, was his brother, as were also Sir Thomas Cave of Stanford-on-Avon, and Sir Ambrose Cave, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and one of Elizabeth's privy councillors (II, ii, 852; III, i, 97, 290, 292; III, ii, 954; IV, i, 351-52, 356). A sister, Dorothea, married John Smith, Henry Smith's grandfather, so that Brian Cave was the preacher's great-uncle (*Visitation of the County of Leicester in 1619*, pp. 66, 128, Harleian Society, II).

<sup>2</sup> Fuller's *Life of Smith* (Smith's *Sermons*, ed. 1866, I, viii); cf. C. H. and T. Cooper, *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, VII, 223. Smith dedicated his collected *Sermons* to Burghley with an expression of gratitude ("haec pignora in grati animi testimonium"; ed. of 1609).











from G. L. K.

# Percy and His Nancy

G. L. KITTREDGE

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## PERCY AND HIS NANCY

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In 1825 somebody presented to Sheffield Grace, a gentleman of antiquarian note in his day, a little sheaf of Percy Papers relating to "O Nancy, will you go with me?" and also an exquisite calligraphic copy of the song, with Thomas Carter's music. The inscription, so beautifully written that it has been mistaken for engraving, runs as follows:

These interesting documents illustrative of the origin of the celebrated ballad Oh Nanny wilt thou gang with me were discovered among a collection of MSS belonging to the late Bishop Percy & are now presented to Sheffield Grace Esq<sup>r</sup>, F.S.A In acknowledgement of the gratification derived from the cultivated taste and amiable feelings displayed in his Memoirs of the Family of Grace and in testimony of sincere and lasting regard by his much obliged Friend

W. S. M.

I cannot identify W. S. M., but he or she may have been a member of the Meade family.<sup>1</sup> Grace immediately passed the gift along to a lady whom he addresses as "My dear Duchess" in his letter of presentation (July 28, 1825), inserted in the volume. The mention of "Avington" in this letter proves that Grace was addressing his distant kinswoman, the first Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos. James Brydges, third Duke of Chandos, had died in 1789, and his title died with him. In 1796, his sole heiress, the Lady Anna Eliza Brydges, married Richard Grenville, whom George IV created (in 1822) Earl Temple of Stowe, Marquis of Chandos, and Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. Avington,<sup>2</sup> near Winchester, had been

<sup>1</sup> Percy's second daughter (Elizabeth) married the Hon. and Rev. Pierce Meade, son of the Earl of Clanwilliam, in 1801 (see Playfair, *British Family Antiquity*, IV (1810), Appendix, p. xcix). The Graces were allied to the Meades (see Sheffield Grace's *Memoirs of the Family of Grace*, p. 83).

<sup>2</sup> Doyle, *Official Baronage*, I, 264-67, 358; Cokayne, *Complete Peerage* (ed., Gibbs), II, 408-9; Woodward, Wilks, and Lockhart, *A General History of Hampshire*, II, 40-48; Duthy, *Sketches of Hampshire*, [1839,] pp. 193, 198-200 (with a pretty view of Avington House and the Itchen); *Annual Register* for 1848, *Chronicle*, pp. 65-66; for 1861, *Chronicle* pp. 408-10. Avington was bought by John Shelley, the poet's younger brother, and is now the seat of the Shelley family (Shelley-Rolls since 1917).



in the Brydges family for generations and was a part of the Lady Anna Eliza's inheritance. Grace had already dedicated to this same great lady his *Memoirs of the Family of Grace*, 1823. It was perhaps the fact that her name was Anna that suggested this particular gift. The duchess died in 1836, the duke in 1839. Their son ran through his property at lightning speed. Grace's pretty little volume of curiosities may have been sold along with other effects of the second duke at the time of his *débâcle*. It has recently been acquired by the Harvard College Library.

The following letters are printed from this volume. The first and third are from the originals, the second is from Percy's own holograph draft, which he had preserved. The draft shows very interesting corrections, which prove that the bishop regarded his utterances on the subject of his famous love song as of some moment.

[Miss Henrietta Rhodes to Bishop Percy]

BRIDGNORTH

January 15<sup>th</sup>

1801

MY LORD

I am so thoroughly conscious of the numberless apologies this Letter requires, that I should despair of receiving your forgiveness for such an Intrusion, was I not well acquainted with your Character, although I have not the honour of being personally known to you: I am therefore inclined to hope, that my address will rather excite a smile, than provoke your displeasure.

My name will perhaps announce to you that I am a native of Bridgnorth; a place which boasts of your birth, no less from your distinguished literary talents, than the high station you enjoy. Added to the respect we feel for great and good characters, there is naturally a portion of *pride* also experienced when we consider ourselves *provincially interested*. Thus much to elucidate the story I have to relate.

In a large company assembled at Mr Lee's of Coton the other Day, the beautifull Ballad "O Nanny wilt thou go with me" was sung by one of the Party, and the words were so much admired that I could not resist making the observation that they were written by Dr Percy, a native of Bridgnorth. A negative was instantly put upon this, by every one present. Some asserted it to be Scotch, and others said they *knew* it to have been written at a much earlier period than you could have published. It was in vain I protested that I had received it, *as yours*, from your Nephew, whom I have the pleasure of knowing, and that I had even written an Answer to it. My opponents continued incredulous, & I in proportion became more decided. At

length Mr Lee, and another Gentleman dared me to a Bett with them. It is the first Wager I ever made in my life, for I am systematically an enemy to them; however I have the *immense* sum of *three Guineas* at stake, determinable only by your Lordship's avowal of being the Author. Whilst I intreat the favour of a reply, suffer me to assure you, that I am not less anxious for the honour of restoring the stolen branch of Bays to the Chaplet the Muses have wove for you, than I am to prove my own claim to correctness: and that I remain your Lordships

obliged humble servan[t]

HENRIETTA RHODES

If Mr Percy is in your Neighbourhood pray make my compliments to him and tell him I expect from his friendship whatever further excuses may be wanting to your Lordship

[Addressed]

THE RIGHT REV<sup>d</sup> BISHOP OF DROMORE

DROMORE HOUSE

*Ireland*

[Bishop Percy to Miss Rhodes]

DROMORE HOUSE, Feb. 9. 1801

MADAM,

So very obliging a Letter as yours ought to have received an earlier Acknowledgement; but the very great indulgence,<sup>1</sup> you have shown to a poetical Escape of my early youth, will, I trust, be extended to my Delay of writing now, w<sup>ch</sup> has been owing to the Interruptions of Business. Graver Studies and more important Persuits have so long since weaned me from the Seductions of the Muses, that I should<sup>2</sup> have scarce taken the trouble you have so kindly done to contest with any opponent my original right to it, but if your very flattering Partiality<sup>3</sup> to it did not tempt me to revive my my Claim to that little Juvenile Production, it would yet be in vain for me to disown it; as<sup>4</sup> when it was first printed in the 6<sup>th</sup> Volume of Dodsley's Miscel: Poems, 1758, to it were prefixed the initials &c of my Name T.P . . . cy: which in a subsequent Edition (I think in 1782) the Publisher<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Before "you" is a partly erased "which."

<sup>2</sup> "should . . . right to it." Percy first wrote "should been content to see this juvenile production, you mention, assigned to any other Claimant"; this he altered to "should have scarce taken the trouble to assert my claim to that juvenile production you mention, had I heard it contested"; then to the present text, but with "Claim to it" for "right to it."

<sup>3</sup> "Partiality . . . would yet." Percy first wrote "Partiality to that little effusion of fancy were not sufficient to make me reassert my claim to it, it would"; this he altered to "Partiality to it did not tempt me to reassert my [altered to "revive my"] attention to it, it would"; then to the present text.

<sup>4</sup> "as" first written "for."

<sup>5</sup> "Publisher" first written "Bookseller."

unknown to me printed at length, mentioning that the author was then Dean of Carlisle, &c. Such is the acct. of<sup>1</sup> this little Publication, which has to plead in its excuse that the *Nancy* who is the subject of it, is my present wife.—whom I then thought & think still to have been one of the most beautiful of her Sex.—Having<sup>2</sup> thus drawn me into these confessions you must in return favour me with a sight of your Answer; to the above song which will also much<sup>3</sup> oblige my Nephew, who is highly gratified by your kind Remembrance of him, he is at present with me, and is so far advanced in Seniority among the Fellows of St. John's College in Oxford that he has taken his Degree of Doctor of Laws. He desires me to present his best Compliments, who have the honour to be,

Madam

Your obedient

humble Servant

THO: DROMORE

P S As I presume y<sup>e</sup> answe<sup>r</sup>. above solicited is not your only production may I request to be favoured with an acct of your other writings

Any Packet will come free, which is directed to me under Cover to

Jasper Ercke Esqr

&c &c &c

War Office

Dublin

[Addressed]

MISS RHODES

BRIDGENORTH

SHROPSHIRE

[Miss Rhodes to Bishop Percy]

MY LORD

The late acknowledgements I pay you for the obliging Letter you honoured me with, must at least wear the appearance of extreme neglect: Suffer me therefore to assure you, that I never in my life felt more highly gratified, than by the very flattering attention you bestowed upon me; and that it has occasioned me the utmost degree of mortification, that I had it not in my power to express my gratitude sooner. I went to Portshall the day following that on which I had the pleasure of receiving your Letter, intending

<sup>1</sup> "of . . . . Publication." Percy first wrote "of the Publication of that small poem." In the draft as it stands "poem" is left uncanceled after "Publication."

<sup>2</sup> "Having . . . . favour me." Percy first wrote "Having thus drawn me into this confession of my youthful Follies, (I mean in writing a [altered to y<sup>e</sup>] Sonnet &c) you have also so far revived my taste for such subjects that I must solicit to be favoured."

<sup>3</sup> "much . . . . gratified." Originally written "gratify my Nephew, who is much obliged."



to stay a Week only; but Lady Pigot woud not suffer me to leave her untill my Visit had been prolonged beyond a month, and I returned home but yesterday.

I shoud blush to have given you the trouble of explaining so fully as you have condescendingly done, where the Ballad of "Nanny" is to be met with, had it not given rise to the confession of so charming a domestic anecdote, that even the beautifull language of the Poet, is surpassed by the finer feelings of the Husband!

I feel that I ought not to withhold from your Lordship, the communication of the Verses you request; but as I now find that I have been guilty of a greater degree of presumption than I was aware of, you must receive them as a *humiliation* for the *Vanity* of the attempt. With a memory capable of retaining almost everything I wish, I nevertheless forget whatever I write myself. Neither am I more anxious for their preservation; so that when I sought for the Manuscript Copy of my Verses, I had mislaid it beyond my search, & I was therefore obliged to refer to the Gentlemans Magazine, where they were published in 1785. This examination, recalled to my recollection a circumstance I had totally forgot—that I had been prevailed upon by a friend to write an *Imitation* of your Song, as from an Officer going to America; and that it was *to this*, that I had written an Answer. I know not what excuse to plead for the temerity of my attempt; nor could I expect forgiveness, from Candour less than yours.

The perusal of these Lines, will convince your Lordship that I profess not

Those enchanting spells that lye  
Lurking in sweet Poesy!

and incline you to believe me, when I assure you, that I have never undertaken a performance of any length, except a Novel, of which no one suspects me to be the Author. Let me however add, that I am too proud of the interest you are so good as to express about me, not to feel the wish that I could prove myself deserving of it.

I rejoice to hear so good an account of D<sup>r</sup> Percy. Although I was ignorant of his having taken his degree, I have always understood that he had justified the very high expectations his friends had formed of him. I entreat that you will do me the fav[our] to present my best remembrances to him; and believe that I remain, with every possible sentiment of respect,

Your Lordships,

obliged humble servant

HENRIETTA RHODES.

BRIDGNORTH

March 21<sup>st</sup> 1801.

What Miss Rhodes says of the freakishness of her memory about her own productions is not a mere ladylike trick of humility after the high-bred Georgian fashion. It is plain and simple truth,

as I know to my cost. For her two poems are not to be found in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1785, to which she refers. They occur (anonymously) two years earlier, in the August number of 1783 (Vol. LIII, Part II, p. 696).<sup>1</sup> The first is entitled "Imitation of the Song, O Nancy, &c. written by the Bishop of Dromore. See p. 605. Addressed to a Lady. By an Officer going to embark for America." It begins:

O Nancy, wilt thou go with me,  
Nor sigh to leave thy sweet retreat?  
Can foreign climes have charms for thee,  
Where discord still maintains her seat?  
Say, canst thou quit such joys serene,  
The toils of savage war to share;  
Nor yet regret the courtly scene,  
Where thou wert fairest of the fair?

The second poem is entitled "Answer." The first stanza runs thus:

Yes, Henry, yes, this faithful heart,  
Can ev'ry arduous trial prove;  
From friends and native shores can part,  
Its great security thy love:  
For ah! each scene when thou'rt away  
Assumes an aspect dull and drear,  
Fled are those hours which shone so gay,  
When thou with happiness wert here.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Both pieces are included in Miss Rhodes's *Poems and Miscellaneous Essays*, Brentford, 1814, pp. 27-30. Autograph copies of both were inclosed by the authoress in her second letter and are preserved in the Grace MS.

<sup>2</sup> There are several other answers to Percy's poem. One by "Mr. Greenfield" was sent to Miss Rhodes by Percy and there is a manuscript copy in the Grace volume. It begins "O Henry, didst thou know the heart." The author was, I suppose, the Rev. Andrew Greenfield, of Moira, who submitted two acts of a tragedy to Percy in 1788 (see his letters in Nichols, *Illustrations*, VIII, 261-62). The poem has been several times reprinted, usually (if not always) without the author's name: for example, in Park's edition of Ritson's *English Songs*, I (1813), 197-98; in Plumtre's *Collection of Songs*, II (1824), 182-84; by James Wilson, *The Musical Cyclopaedia*, 1834, p. 11. Another answer, beginning "Yes, Damon, yes, with thee I'll go," was reprinted from *The European Magazine*, for December, 1816, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, for May, 1847, New Series, XXVII, 482, and is also in Plumtre, II, 179-81. A third begins: "Yes, Henry, yes, with thee I'll go" (Plumtre, II, 181-82; *The British Orpheus*, Stourport, n.d., pp. 8-9). A fourth, beginning: "Oh William I will gang with thee" is mentioned in *The Musical Times*, XIX (1878), 503. William Richardson's pretty poem entitled *The Invitation. An Idyllion* ("Fair lady, leave parade and show") may well have been suggested by Percy's song (*Poems, chiefly Rural* [3d ed., 1775], pp. 28-30; cf. Wilson, as above, p. 11).

"See p. 605" in the title of the "Imitation" refers to a previous page of the same volume, where we find: "Bp. Percy's exquisite Ballad, 'O Nancy, wilt thou go with me?' attempted in Latin verse" by C. L., whom I have not identified. It is in elegiacs:

Anna mihi comites dignaberis addere gressus;  
Urbis adoratæ linquere delicias?

The Latinizer has appended one new stanza, by which, he says, "I hope the harmony and simplicity of the pathetic original has not been violated."

Percy's reply (not preserved) to Miss Rhodes's second letter must have included some inquiries as to her poetry and her novel. In a letter of May 10, 1810, contained in the Grace MS, she informs him that the novel is entitled *Augusta Denbeigh* and that "Lane gave twenty guineas immediately for it; which I thought an immense sum for a Book brought out in obscurity, and without a name." She also sends her thanks to Percy's nephew "for his goodness in Copying Mr. Greenfields Reply to your beautifull Ballad," and she incloses at least one more poem of her own, "a Reply to a very fashionable Song of Captain Morris's who in his partiality for a *Town* Life, is very wittily severe upon the *Country*."<sup>1</sup>

Everybody knows that Percy's song was addressed to Anna Guttridge (Goodriche), whom he married on April 24, 1759, and who died at Dromore House on December 30, 1806, aged seventy-four. But there are two or three questions about the song that need clearing up.

In the autumn of 1757, Percy, then Vicar of Easton Maudit in Northamptonshire, sent "O Nancy, wilt thou go with me?" to Shenstone, with a request that he would revise it before communicating it to Dodsley the publisher.<sup>2</sup> Shenstone's corrections, which must have been trifling, met with a polite acknowledgment in Percy's letter of November 24.<sup>3</sup> The poem appeared in print for the first time in 1758 in Dodsley's *Collection* as "A Song. By T. P\*\*\*cy,"<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This poem is not in the Grace MS. It may be found in Miss Rhodes's volume of *Poems and Miscellaneous Essays*, 1814, pp. 35-38: "Parody on Captain Morris's Song, 'London and the Country.'" The same volume contains the song ("In London I know not what to be at"), pp. 50-52.

<sup>2</sup> Shenstone to Percy, January 4, 1758 (Hecht, *Thomas Percy und William Shenstone, Quellen und Forschungen*, CIII, 6).

<sup>3</sup> Hecht, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> A *Collection of Poems*, VI, 233-34.



and was reprinted in subsequent editions with the same ascription until 1782, when Dodsley gave the author's surname in full with an explanatory footnote: "Thomas Percy, D.D. now Dean of Carlisle."<sup>1</sup>

Before 1774, it seems,<sup>2</sup> the song was twice set to music, once by Thomas Carter and once by Joseph Baildon, and was sung at Vauxhall (in Carter's setting) by Vernon, and at Ranelagh (in Baildon's) by Beard. In Carter's text (as usually printed), the first line appears in a Scottish guise ("O Nanny wilt thou gang with me?") and in Baildon's the Scotticisms are carried through the piece and "Betsy" is substituted for "Nancy." Then, in 1787, James Johnson in *The Scots Musical Museum*<sup>3</sup> published the Scottish text as by "Dr. Piercy," with Baildon's music but without naming the composer.

Burns, who regarded "O Nancy" as "perhaps the most beautiful ballad in the English language,"<sup>4</sup> was indignant at what he regarded as Johnson's (or some other canny Scot's) act of piracy. "It is too barefaced," he wrote, "to take Dr. Percy's charming song, and by the means of transposing a few English words into Scots, to offer to pass it for a Scots song."<sup>5</sup> Who did the Scotticizing has always been a puzzle. Some have thought that it was Percy himself. Grainger mentions "your Scotch song" (but describes it no further) in a letter

<sup>1</sup> *Collection*, VI (1782), 250-51.

<sup>2</sup> Dates are uncertain here. Baildon died in 1774. His tune is contained in a collection of his songs entitled *The Laurel* (ca. 1773), which I have not seen, but the first four lines are given in *The Musical Times*, XIX (September 1, 1878), 503; the title runs: "A Song in the Scotch Manner, sung by Mr. Beard." In *The Bull-Finch*, p. 211, I find (without the tune): "The Fairest of the Fair. Sung at Ranelagh. Set by Mr. Joseph Baildon." This is the edition of *The Bull-Finch* containing 490 songs and dated 1780 in the *Stainer Catalogue*, p. 16. Whether the piece occurs in earlier editions, I do not know. Carter's tune is dated 1773 by Stenhouse (*Illustrations*, I [1839], 30), but he is very untrustworthy in such details. Dr. Grattan Flood says that Carter set the song "at the close of the year 1769 . . . and settled in London in 1772" (*Grove's Dictionary of Music* [ed., Fuller Maitland], I, 475). In 1783, Ritson included Carter's tune in his *English Songs*, III, sig. G4.

<sup>3</sup> No. 32, I, 33.

<sup>4</sup> Burns to George Thomson, October 26, 1792 (*Works*, Edinburgh, 1879, VI, 220; *Life and Works* [ed., Chambers and Wallace], III, 355). Burns was not alone in this opinion. Dr. Aikin, in 1772, remarked that O Nancy "has scarcely its equal for real tenderness in this or any other language" (*Essays on Song-Writing* [2d ed., 1774], p. 110); and in 1780 J. W[arton?] wrote: "This has been esteemed, not undeservedly, the most beautiful song in the English language. It is tender, easy, and elegant" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, L [August, 1780], 372).

<sup>5</sup> Cromeek's *Reliques of Robert Burns* (4th ed., 1817), p. 209; *Life and Works* (ed., Chambers and Wallace), IV, 377.

to Percy dated February, 1758, and asks if he may give it to the editors of a new magazine (also unnamed by him), who are eager for good poetry.<sup>1</sup> Nichols thought this "Scotch song" was "O Nanny," but he had no proof,<sup>2</sup> and Mitford, who repeated the conjecture, did not improve his argument, in the long run, by inadvertently copying two of Nichols's footnotes into the text of Grainger's letter, so as to make him give the name of the periodical (*The Grand Magazine*) and designate the poem by its first line—"your Scotch song—'O Nannie, wilt thou gang wi' me?'"<sup>3</sup> This is a very pretty case of a couple of glosses that "crept into the text." On the whole, the prevalent opinion, despite Grainger's cryptic utterance about "your Scotch song," seems to be that only the English text is Percy's. And that would appear to be reasonable, for why should a young English clergyman address his young English Anna in the Scottish dialect?

However, in this instance, the apparently improbable is true. Nichols was right and so was Mitford, despite his textual aberrations. Percy wrote the song originally in an attempted Scottish dialect, and not in the English form in which he published it in 1758, and here it is from a copy in his own hand, authenticated by his signature, preserved among the Percy Papers in the Harvard College Library.

The Song,

In Dodsley's *Miscellanies* Vol. 6. p. 233.

As it was first written

In Imitation of the Scotch Manner

O Annie! wilt thou gang wi' me,  
 Nor sigh to leave the flaunting town?  
 Can silent glens hae charms for thee,  
 The lowly Cot, and russet gown?  
 Nae langer dress'd in silken sheene,  
 Nae langer deck'd wi' Jewels rare,  
 Say can'st thou quit each courtly scene,  
 Where thou wert fairest of the fair?

<sup>1</sup> Nichols, *Illustrations*, VII, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Nichols, VII, 228, 247, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, XXVII (March, 1847), 376-77 (cf. p. 604). J. M., who signs this communication, was certainly the well-known editor of Gray; he writes from "B—— ll," i.e., Benhall, Suffolk, where Mitford was vicar from 1810 until his death in 1859. See also Willmott, in his edition of Percy's *Reliques*, 1857, pp. xxx-xxxvi; G. A. C[rawford], *The Musical Times*, XIX (September 1, 1878), 502-3.

O Annie! when thou'rt far awa',  
 Wilt thou not cast a wish behind?  
 Say can'st thou face the flaky snaw,  
 Nor shrink before the wintry wind?  
 O can that saft and gentle mien  
 Extremes of hardship learn to bear,  
 Nor sad regret each courtly scene  
 Where thou wert fairest of the fair.

O Annie! can'st thou love sae true  
 Thro' perils keen wi' me to gae?  
 Or when thy swain Mishap shall rue,  
 To share with him the Pang of wae?  
 Say should disease or pain befall,  
 Wilt thou assume the Nurse's Care,  
 Nor wistful those gay Scenes recall,  
 Where thou wert fairest of the fair?

And when at last thy Love shall die,  
 Wilt thou receive his parting breath?  
 Wilt thou repress each struggling Sigh?  
 And chear wi' smiles the bed of death?  
 And wilt thou o'er his breathless Clay,  
 Strew flowr's & drop the tender tear?  
 Nor *then* regret those scenes sae gay,  
 Where thou wert fairest of the fair?

T PERCY.<sup>1</sup>

Percy's "originality"—a parlous word—has been much debated in the matter of his famous song, and the discussion illustrates, in a curious and entertaining fashion, the loose way in which literary history is often written. Stenhouse about 1820 suggested<sup>2</sup> that Percy "might have had in view" the anonymous Scottish song in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* entitled "The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy," the second stanza of which begins:

O Katy, wiltu gang wi' me,  
 And leave the dinsome town a while;  
 The blossom's sprouting frae the tree,  
 And a' the summer's gawn to smile.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The signature shows the entwined *T* and *P*, as in that reproduced by Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron*, III (1817), 340. The heading ("The Song," etc.), as well as the text, is in Percy's hand.

<sup>2</sup> *Illustrations*, in Johnson's *Museum* (ed. 1839), I, notes; (ed. 1853), IV, 29–30.

<sup>3</sup> *Tea-Table Miscellany* (9th ed., 1733), I, 66. The song is Ramsay's own: see his *Poems*, II (1800), 226–27.



And he adds complacently that "the Bishop's verses . . . form one of the most successful imitations of the Scottish pastoral ballad which has ever yet appeared on the south side of the Tweed."<sup>1</sup> There is, to be sure, identity of meter, but there is nothing Scottish about the meter, and the spirit of the two songs is utterly different as well as their details. It would be quite as much to the point to suggest that the unknown Scot took a hint from "Come live with me and be my love."

However, Dr. Furnivall, in 1867, on the suggestion of Rimbault, went Stenhouse several better. He says:

Knowing Percy's habits, one is not surprised to find that this ballad, for which he has been so much praised, is little more than a paraphrase of another poem. Of "Oh Nanny," Dr. Rimbault writes: "With regard to its *originality* we will say nothing, because the following elegant little poem, from a MS. dated 1682, evidently furnished the idea. The same words,<sup>2</sup> with some trifling variations, are found in Nat. Lee's tragedy 'Theodosius, or the Force of Love,' edit. 1697."<sup>3</sup>

The poem in question is appended under the title of "The Royal Nun": it begins, "Canst thou, Marina, leave the world?" Now the comparison with Lee's "Canst thou, Marina, leave the world?" was made (before Rimbault) by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, who suggested, with due restraint, that "perhaps both the author of 'The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy' and Bishop Percy took the idea of their ballads from a song in Lee's beautiful tragedy of Theodosius."<sup>4</sup> There is just similarity enough to warrant Sharpe's cautious observation, and I am glad to quote him, if for no other reason, because he pays a merited tribute to poor Lee's undervalued tragedy; but the phrase "little more than a paraphrase" goes far beyond the facts.

In the second place, Rimbault forgets to mention that the date of his manuscript (1682) is two years later than the date of Lee's tragedy. He gives us the impression that the song was borrowed or stolen by Lee, and fortifies this impression by referring to "edit. 1697." Mr. Wheatley, in 1876, stepped into the trap with both

<sup>1</sup> Rimbault repeats Stenhouse's suggestion (*Folio Manuscript*, I, xli, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> I.e., the same words as those of "the following elegant little poem."

<sup>3</sup> *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, I, xli, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Additional Illustrations* in the 1839 edition of Johnson's *Musical Museum*, I, notes, p. 112\* (ed. 1853, IV, 112\*).

feet. "Dr. Rimbault," he says, "communicated this poem ['The Royal Nun'] to the editors of the folio MS. from a MS. dated 1682, or fifteen years earlier than Lee's version."<sup>1</sup> Now Lee died in 1692, and *Theodosius* was both acted and printed in 1680. Comparison between Rimbault's manuscript of 1682 and Lee's text of 1680 shows at a glance that the manuscript gives merely a modified and attenuated extract from the florid operatic scene in which Marina and Flavilla are received as votaresses.<sup>2</sup> The thing is not a song in eight-line stanzas, but a series of songs in four-line stanzas. Atticus, the chief priest, sings one stanza (the first half of Rimbault's stanza 1); the second and third priests follow, each with one stanza; then Atticus sings a stanza, then the chorus; Marina and Flavilla reply, each in three stanzas, and Atticus closes with four couplets.<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Rimbault's note, as printed by Furnivall in 1867, coincides strictly in part with an item in *Fly Leaves* (1853), even to the use of the editorial "we" and the italicizing of the word "originality."<sup>4</sup> I believe Rimbault was the editor of *Fly Leaves* and have no doubt that this item was from his pen. Both the item and the note contain "The Royal Nun" "from a MS. dated 1682." The item differs from the note in omitting all reference to Lee and in containing the remark that "The Royal Nun" is "attributed to Sir William Davenant."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Percy's *Reliques*, I (1876), lxxiv. It is only fair to add that Wheatley decisively vindicates the bishop: "Even could it be proved that Percy had borrowed the opening idea from these two poems ['The Royal Nun' and 'The Young Laird'], it does not derogate from his originality."

<sup>2</sup> Act I, scene i (quarto of 1680), pp. 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscript of 1682 must be that described by Rimbault in *A Little Book of Songs and Ballads*, 1851, p. 163 (cf. pp. 166, 183, 187) as "a MS. volume of old Songs, collected and noted by the celebrated 'small-coal' man, Thomas Britton. On the fly-leaf is his autograph, and the date, 1682. It was purchased, with several others of the same kind, and of the same collection, at the sale of John Sidney Hawkins' books." Hawkins died in 1842 and his library was sold in 1843. On the sale of Britton's library in 1715, see Dibdin, *Bibliomania*, 1811, pp. 440-41.

<sup>4</sup> I, 18-21. The two series of *Fly Leaves*, published by John Miller, the London bookseller, are reprinted from *Miller's London Librarian and Book-Buyer's Gazette*, a monthly list of second-hand books. The first series was published in 1853, but the title-page of the copy I have used bears the date 1855. See *Notes and Queries*, First Series, VIII, 656; XI, 40.

<sup>5</sup> The item also quotes the erroneous account of the occasion of Percy's writing his song given by Miss Lætitia-Matilda Hawkins, *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions*, I (1824), 271, note. It also mentions Mrs. Percy's portrait at Ecton House, and it contains an account of Thomas Carter. Rimbault's note adds a reference to "The Young Laird and Edinburgh Katy."

It does not appear, however, that this attribution is in the manuscript. Doubtless, it was between 1853 and 1867 that Rimbault discovered that the song is in *Theodosius*. Anyhow, by 1867, he had come to distrust the attribution to Davenant, whatever that may have been based on.

But we have not yet finished our chapter of accidents. Dr. Furnivall, who was not wont to make such mistakes, wrote to *Notes and Queries*, in 1868, to the following effect: "Mr. W. Chappell tells me that the ballad 'Canst thou, Marina, leave the world?'—which Dr. Rimbault shows . . . was the original of Percy's 'Oh, Nanny wilt thou go with me?'—is in Sir W. Davenant's play of *The Rivals*, acted in 1664, and printed in 1668."<sup>1</sup> This is simply not the case. There is no such song, nor anything in the remotest degree resembling it, in Davenant's *Rivals*.<sup>2</sup> How Chappell, the most learned of antiquaries in these matters, came to blunder so egregiously, is hard to understand. One thinks that he must really have seen the verses in some copy of the play; but if so, they must have been a late insertion in an *acting* version. In Davenant's comedy, the distracted Celania sings a number of songs and snatches of song, and stanzas from the lyric service in *Theodosius* may have been utilized by some actress to enrich the part. At all events, nothing is clearer than that no such verses were written or inserted by Davenant, who died in 1668. They are Nat Lee's property, and his alone.

An unknown critic declared, about a century ago, that "the subject of the song is taken" from an Elegy of Tibullus,<sup>3</sup> obviously meaning the First. There is indeed some quite legitimate resemblance, particularly between the last stanza ("And when at last thy love shall die," etc.) and that part of the address to Delia that begins: "Te spectem suprema mihi cum venerit hora."<sup>4</sup> The comparison, at all events, has a certain interest, since the version of this elegy

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, I, 555.

<sup>2</sup> See the quarto of 1668, the first edition, which was "licensed September 19, 1668."

<sup>3</sup> *The European Magazine*, December, 1816, as quoted in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, XXVII (1847), 482. Cf. Aikin, *Essays on Song-Writing* (2d. ed., 1774), p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> i, 1, 59-68 (73-82 Grainger).



which Grainger printed in his *Tibullus* (1759)<sup>1</sup> was made by Percy in or about 1756, and since Grainger's book was the subject of incessant correspondence between Grainger and Percy from 1756 to 1759.<sup>2</sup> It was in 1758, we remember, that Grainger expressed a wish to print Percy's "Scotch Song" in *The Grand Magazine*.<sup>3</sup>

There is a tiresome literary tradition, commonly assumed to go back to some kind of contemporary evidence, that Percy's Nancy was a plain-featured woman. So far as I can make out, it was started by an innocent passage in Fanny Burney's diary. In 1791, she met Mrs. Percy, then a matron of sixty years, and she thus describes her: "She is very uncultivated and ordinary in manners and conversation, but a good creature, and much delighted to talk over the Royal Family, to one of whom she was formerly a nurse."<sup>4</sup> Willmott, in 1857, quoted this passage correctly, but prefixed a somewhat ambiguous comment: "If Madame D'Arblay's account be correct, 'the fairest of the fair' borrowed her graces from the poet's pen."<sup>5</sup> This became, in Gilfillan's edition of the *Reliques* in 1858:<sup>6</sup> "She is described as a 'good creature,' but ordinary both in appearance and manners, and indebted for her charms to her husband's imagination." In 1867, Pickford continued the game of gossip. "She . . . is described as a good wife, but indebted for her charms to her husband's poetical fancy, which has styled her 'fairest of the fair.'"<sup>7</sup> And finally, in 1908, Miss Gaussen felt bound to echo her predecessors: "It may have been only to the eye of the poet that 'Nancy' appeared as 'fairest of the fair,' and her charms possibly had no more material existence than 'the stuff that dreams are made of.'"<sup>8</sup>

We should observe that Miss Burney says nothing of the lady's good looks one way or the other, and that, even if she did, beauty

<sup>1</sup> *A Poetical Translation of the Elegies of Tibullus*, I, 3 ff. See Grainger's acknowledgment, I, xiii.

<sup>2</sup> See the letters in Nichols, *Illustrations*, VII, 242 ff.; Percy to Shenstone, January 9, 1759 (Hecht, pp. 9-10).

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 211-12 above.

<sup>4</sup> *Diary and letters* (ed., Dobson, 1905), V, 31.

<sup>5</sup> Willmott's edition of the *Reliques*, p. xvii.

<sup>6</sup> Edinburgh (James Nichol), I, v.

<sup>7</sup> *Life* in Hales and Furnivall's edition of the *Folio Manuscript*, I, xxxii.

<sup>8</sup> *Percy: Prelate and Poet*, p. 19.

sometimes fades between the ages of twenty-five and sixty. Mrs. Percy's obituary, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, calls her "the truly worthy, amiable, and very accomplished wife" of the Bishop of Dromore,<sup>1</sup> and to the same number, a poet who signs himself "Hafiz" contributed an *Epitaph* which celebrates her beauty:

Whose moral excellence, and virtues rare,  
Shone as conspicuous as her face was fair.<sup>2</sup>

A more decisive witness is Miss Lætitia-Matilda Hawkins. Speaking of Percy's "charming wife," she avers that "the best whole length of the so often painted wife of Rubens will always keep in remembrance what Mrs. Percy was, particularly that in the engravings from the Luxembourg Gallery, where 'Lady Rubens' appears under the character of Mary de Medicis kneeling to receive the crown."<sup>3</sup> Whether Miss Hawkins was right or wrong in believing that Rubens painted his wife as the queen in this coronation picture<sup>4</sup> is a matter that does not affect the value of her testimony. She was the daughter and private secretary of Johnson's friend, Sir John Hawkins, who was a member of the famous club to which both Johnson and Percy belonged, and she was a person of sufficient maturity to have her father's *Life of Johnson* wrongly credited to her own pen.<sup>5</sup> The best evidence of all, however, is the lady's portrait,<sup>6</sup> which is that of a distinctly handsome woman.

<sup>1</sup> LXXXVII, Part I, p. 91 (January, 1807).

<sup>2</sup> P. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs, Anecdotes, Facts, and Opinions*, I (1824), 271, note.

<sup>4</sup> See Grossmann, *Der Gemäldezyclus der Galerie der Maria von Medici*, p. 15, n. 3; Rooses and Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, III, 360.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoirs*, etc., I, 160.

<sup>6</sup> Reproduced in Gaussen, p. 22.









*from G. L. K.*

# SIR THOMAS MALORY

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## SIR THOMAS MALORY

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SHORTLY after the appearance of my essay entitled "Who was Sir Thomas Malory?" (1897)<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. T. Martin, F. S. A., published an important paper<sup>2</sup> on the same subject. In this paper, which was read before the Society of Antiquaries on June 16th, 1898, he discussed two distinct Thomas Malorys, both alive in 1469. One of them is Thomas Malory of Papworth, whom he confidently identified with the author of the *Morte d'Arthur*. In my paper (which Mr. Martin had not seen) this Thomas is mentioned (p. 96, note 1), with the remark that he "was not a knight, but merely an *armiger*," this rules him out, even if he did not die too soon to satisfy the conditions." The only date which I had for his death was 1469. Mr. Martin, who collected much information about him, showed that he died between September 16 and October 27 of that year;<sup>3</sup> hence it is clear that he did not necessarily "die too soon," since the ninth year of Edward IV (in which, according to the author's own statement, the *Morte* was finished) extended from March 4, 1469, to March 3, 1470 (both included). There is a margin of at least six months. The objection that Thomas Malory of Papworth was an *armiger* only, and not a knight, remains unshaken by Mr. Martin's investigations; for these, so far from establishing the possibility that this Thomas was a knight, make double

sure the assurance that he was *not*. Mr. Martin found many records relating to this Thomas, including his will. In none of them does any designation of rank follow his name except in the Fine Roll of Edward IV (1469, Nov. 18) of a writ to the escheator in Northampton. Here he is called *armiger*. Every fresh document, then, is additional evidence that Thomas of Papworth was not a knight, and consequently that he cannot have been the author of whom we are in search. His proximity to the Welsh border, however, and the "tradition" that the author of the *Morte* was connected with "Mailoria," led Mr. Martin<sup>4</sup> to prefer him to another candidate, who was certainly a knight, the Sir Thomas Malory of Winwick and Newbold whose claims were set forth in my paper. The futility of this "tradition"<sup>5</sup> and the impossibility of connecting the trisyllabic name *Malory* (*Malore Maloree*) with *Maelwr* have already been sufficiently insisted on,<sup>6</sup> and we may regard it as certain that, whoever wrote the *Morte*, it was not Thomas of Papworth. Even Mr. Martin was not, as I understand from a private letter from him, inclined to insist on his identification after reading my paper.

A further question is, however, raised by Mr. Martin's essay, which must be settled before the results at which I arrived in 1894 can be regarded as conclusive. The result of my investigation was to show that only one person could be found who fulfilled all the conditions,—Sir Thomas Malory, knight, of Winwick and Newbold, who died, according to Dugdale, "14 Martii 10. E. 4," that is March 14, 1470 (in our reckoning).<sup>6</sup> Mr. Martin, who,



when he read his paper, did not know the date of this Sir Thomas's death, identified with him a "Thomas Malory, miles", who is said in an inquisition dated November 6, 1471, and held at Northampton, to have died on March 12, 1471, and to have held no lands in that county. On reading my paper, Mr. Martin was inclined to give up this identification, so that, besides his Thomas of Papworth, there remained two Sir Thomases in the field: Sir Thomas of Newbold and Winwick, and Sir Thomas of the Northampton Inquisition.<sup>7</sup> Further inquiry, however, has shown me that Mr. Martin was right in identifying these two persons, and that therefore (apart from Thomas of Papworth, who is ruled out because he certainly was not a knight), there remains only Sir Thomas Malory, he of Winwick and Newbold. The evidence is briefly as follows.

Dugdale is in error in giving the date of Thomas of Newbold's death as March 14, 10 Ed. IV. (i. e. March 14, 1470).<sup>8</sup> His error comes from the commonest of slips in computation, that made in passing from the year of Our Lord to the regnal year or vice versa. His authority for the date is given in his note as Cotton MS., Vitellius, XII, from which he also derived the information that Malory is "buried under a marble in the Chappell of St. Francis at the Gray Friars, near Newgate in the Suburbs of London."<sup>9</sup> This is a paper manuscript of the early sixteenth century. The article here used by Dugdale<sup>10</sup> is called, in a table of contents by Dugdale, prefixed to the manuscript., "De monumentis in ecclesia fratrum Minorum Londini." As to the article itself, it is not a register of burials,

but a careful account (in Latin) of the monuments in the order of their situation,—in the choir, in the chapel of St. Mary, . . . “in ecclesia extra ualuas in ala Boriali inter m[urum] borialem et columpnas,” etc. The date of the article is probably shortly before July, 1533.<sup>11</sup> Under the heading “In capella s̄ci Francisci” this entry occurs:

Mallere Sub 2<sup>a</sup> parte fenestre 4<sup>d</sup> sub lapide jacet  
 dñs *Thom̄as Mallere* valens miles Qui obiit  
 14 die mensis *Marcij* A<sup>o</sup> dñi 1470 de Parochia  
 de *Monkenkirkby* in comitatu Warwici.<sup>12</sup>

e/

Here, then, we have what is practically a copy of the inscription on the tombstone of Sir Thomas Malory of Newbold and Winwick. He died March 14, “A. D. 1470,” that is, of course, in our reckoning, 1471. In transferring the A. D. to the regnal year, Dugdale slipped and wrote “10. E. IV” instead of “11. E. IV.” Thus there is an almost exact agreement between the date of the death of Thomas Malory, *miles*, in the Northampton inquisition and that of Sir Thomas of Winwick and Newbold. The discrepancy between March 12 (the inquisition) and March 14 (the tombstone) is of no consequence. The inquisition is probably in error. The dates in these inquisitions are often slightly erroneous, the escheators being more interested in the fact of the man’s death and in the age of his heir than in the exact moment of his demise.<sup>13</sup> When it is added that the Northampton inquisition gives the heir of Sir Thomas as Robert Malory, aged 23,<sup>14</sup> and that Sir Thomas of Newbold and Winwick had a son Robert who may well have been of this same age

at the time of his father's death,<sup>15</sup> the identity of the Sir Thomas of the Northampton inquisition with Sir Thomas of Newbold and Winwick is thoroughly established.

One difficulty, which troubled Mr. Martin, may be easily explained. The Northampton inquisition states that Sir Thomas held no lands in Northampton, whereas Sir Thomas of Winwick and Newbold, had, in his lifetime, considerable possessions in that country. Mr. Martin suggests that "Winwick [in Northampton] was held by [Sir Thomas's] wife, Elizabeth, in her own right." He adds "Of this Elizabeth I have found an inquisition."<sup>16</sup> She was the widow of Thomas Malory, miles, and she died in 1479.<sup>17</sup> At her death she held Wynwyke, in Northampton, for life, of the king by military service; Newbold Fenne *alias* Newbold Ryvell in Warwick; and Swinnerford or Swinford in Leicestershire. Her heir is Nicholas, the son of her son Robert." Now, in fact, Winwick was the hereditary possession of Sir Thomas; it had never belonged to his wife's family.<sup>18</sup> Yet that he did not hold it at the time of his death is clear. If he had then held it, it would not have passed to his wife, and so would not have been in her possession when she died in 1479. The same remark applies to the other estates of Sir Thomas. In other words, when Sir Thomas of Winwick and Newbold died, he was not seized of any real estate, either in Northamptonshire or elsewhere. Yet when his wife died, nine years later, she was found in possession of exactly those lands in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire which Sir Thomas had held in his lifetime and of which



we should have expected to find him seized at the time of his death. Clearly Sir Thomas had put his lands out of his possession during his lifetime, conveying them into his wife's hands by the circuitous but familiar process of a feoffment to uses. The device was familiar in the case of persons who might fear confiscation. That Sir Thomas of Warwick resorted to it is confirmation of my conjecture that he was the same Thomas who was conspicuous on the Lancastrian side in the Wars of the Roses and who in 1468 was excepted by name from the operation of a pardon issued by Edward IV.<sup>19</sup>

The upshot of the discussion is, then, precisely this: There is, so far as we can see, only one person who fulfills all the conditions required of the author of the *Morte d'Arthur*, and that person is Sir Thomas Malory of Winwick, the "valens miles" who was buried in Grey Friars, London, and whose epitaph has been preserved to us by a singular chance.

To the biographical facts with reference to Sir Thomas Malory of Winwick and Newbold I can add two or three others, not, perhaps, very much to his credit but sufficiently illustrative of those unruly times.

In a letter of January 8, 1920, Mr. Edward F. Cobb had the kindness to send me an important extract from the De Banco Rolls of Henry VI, 1443, which "embodies a charge of assault with violence, brought by Thomas Smythe, a parishioner of Sprottin, Northants, versus Thomas Malory, 'Miles', and another."

(Northants). Thomas Smythe in propria persona sua optulit se quarto die versus Thomam Mal-

ory de parochia de Kirkeby monachorum in Comitatu Warw., militem, et Eustachium Burneby de Watford in Comitatu predicto, armigerum, de placito quare vi et armis in ipsum Thomam Smythe apud Sprottone insultum fecerunt et ipsum verberaverunt, vulneraverunt, imprisonaverunt, et male tractaverunt, et bona et catalla sua ad valenciam quadraginta librarum ibidem inventa ceperunt et asportaverunt, et alia enormia ad grave dampnum et contra pacem etc fecerunt. Et ipsi non venerunt, et preceptum fuit Vicecomiti quod attachiat eos, et Vicecomes modo mandat quod attachiati sunt per Ricardum Gey et Johannem ffray.<sup>20</sup>

On July 13, 1451, Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, and Richard, Earl of Warwick, had a commission "appointing them to arrest Thomas Malory, knight, and John Appleby, his servant, and cause them to find mainpernors who will mainprise for them under a sufficient penalty that they will do not hurt to the prior and convent of the Carthusian house of Axiholme or any of the king's people, and that they will appear in person before the king and council on the quinzaine of Michaelmas next to answer certain charges."<sup>21</sup> The Carthusian house here mentioned was the Priory in the Wood (Melwood Priory) near Epworth in the Isle of Axholm, Lincolnshire, founded by Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham (afterwards Duke of Norfolk) in 1395. The rights of these monks in Kirby Monachorum, the parish in which Malory's estate of Newbold Revell was situated, may have led to the quarrels implied in this record.

On March 26, 1452, the same Duke Humphrey,

with Sir Edward Grey of Groby, and the Sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, were commissioned "to arrest and bring before the king and council "Thomas Malorre, knight, to answer certain charges."<sup>22</sup>

In my supplementary note (p. 106) the name Malory in the form *Maloret* was cited from the Exeter Domesday (by Professor Sheldon).<sup>23</sup> Any doubt that this *Maloret* is the same surname as *Maloree-Malore-Malory*, is now removed by a document of about the middle of the twelfth century, in which the name of Anketil Malore, the well-known Constable of Leicester, appears (in the ablative) as "Ansche-tillo Malloret."<sup>24</sup>

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#### NOTES

1. My essay appeared in 1897 in Vol. V. of the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, pp. 85-106, and was also reprinted separately. My identification of the author of the *Morte* with Sir Thomas Malory of Winwick (Northamptonshire) and Newbold Revell or Fenny Newbold (Warwickshire) was made public on March 15, 1894, at a meeting held at Columbia University in honor of Friedrich Diez (cf. *Modern Language Notes*, April, 1914, IX., 253). It was put on record in a brief article on Malory published in 1894 in *Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia*, V, 498.

2. In *Archæologia*, LVI.; also issued separately (London, 1898). See *Athenæum*, September 11, 1897, pp. 353-354; June 25, 1898, p. 827; July 16, 1898, p. 98.

3. Martin, p. 3.

4. Mr. Martin accepted Professor Rhys's erroneous etymology of *Malory*. In 1918 E. Vettermann accumulated a mass of curious learning in support of this etymology, but in vain (*Die Balen-Dichtungen und ihre Quellen*, pp. 53-60, *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, LX). See the review by R. Zenker in *Herrig's Archiv*, 1921, CXLI, 151-152.

5. It is not, properly considered, a tradition at all, but an antiquary's guess or fiction.

6. See my paper, pp. 87, 90.

7. In a private letter of November 28, 1898, Mr. Martin wrote: "You will see that I have also discovered your Thomas of Winwick, though I think it is by no means certain that he was the author."



"You will also see that I have found the entry in an Inq. p. m. of another Thomas, Miles, who died March 12, 1471. My statement on p. 9 of my paper that the date of death of Sir Thos. of Winwick is unknown, is of course wrong: I sh'd have said 'is unknown from any documentary evidence I could find.' The references quoted in your paper seem to fairly well establish 1470 as the date of his death: and in this case there must now be at least *two* Sir Thomases besides my Thomas of Papworth. Thus we have by no means got to the bottom of the matter. Dugdale, however, is not exactly a final authority."

8. In my paper I adopted the erroneous date, March 14, 1470, but corrected it later to 1471 (see Maynadier, *The Arthur of the English Poets*, 1907, p. 246).

9. Dugdale, *Warwickshire*, ed. Thomas, I, 83.

10. Styled in the *Catalogue* of 1802, p. 432, "registrum eorum, qui sepeliuntur in ecclesia et capellis fratrum Minorum London."

11. I owe my account of the manuscript to Mr. J. A. Herbert, who examined it for me in 1899.

12. The words printed in italics are in red ink. The whole entry, including the marginal "Mallere," is in the same hand—that of the writer of the whole article. The manuscript is edited by J. G. Nichols in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, V, 274-290, 385-398; for Malory see p. 287.

13. A much larger error is noted by Mr. Martin (p. 6) in a case where there is no doubt of the person meant.

14. Martin, p. 8.

15. At the death of Elizabeth Malory, widow of Sir Thomas of Winwick and Newbold, her heir was found to be Nicholas, son of her son Robert, aged thirteen and more on September 30, 1479 (see my paper, p. 90, note 2). Nicholas must, therefore, have been born about 1466. Robert, the son of the Sir Thomas of the Northampton inquisition was, then, about eighteen at the time of the birth of his son Nicholas—not too young for fatherhood in those days. The statement that Robert, son of Sir Thomas of Winwick and Newbold, died in the lifetime of his father, is made (without any documentary authority) by Dugdale, I, 81. It rests, obviously, on a hasty inference from the succession of Nicholas to his grandmother (Elizabeth) in 1479. Robert must have died between the death of his father (Sir Thomas) in 1471 and that of his mother (Elizabeth) in 1479. Perhaps he died in the same year as his mother. On November 4, 1479, a commission was issued to Walter Mauntell, knight, and two others, "to enquire what lands Robert Malory, esquire, deceased, tenant in chief, held in the counties of Northumberland, Warwick and Leicester and by what service and what they are worth, and on what day he died and who is his heir, and to take the lands into the king's hands" (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1476-1485, p. 183). On Nicholas Malory see also *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1494-1509, pp. 132, 295, 560, 663.



16. Inq. p. m. 20. Ed. IV., No. 46 (Martin, p. 8.) It is cited by Dugdale, I, 83, and by Bridges-Whalley, *Northamptonshire*, I, 603.

17. Not 1480, as I wrongly stated in my paper, p. 90. "Elizabeth Malory died in 1479 and not in 1480. In three inquisitions the dates of the year agree though two of them give the day as Sept. 30, while the third gives Oct. 1" (Mr. Martin's letter). On October 10, 1480, Margaret Kelem had a grant "of the custody of all lordships, manors, lands, rents, reversions," etc. "which Elizabeth, now deceased, the wife of Thomas Malory, knight, deceased, tenant in chief, held after his death of the inheritance of Nicholas Malory, their kinsman and heir, viz. son of Robert, their son, during the minority of the said Nicholas and his custody and marriage without disparagement" (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1476-1485, p. 220).

18. See Dugdale, I, 82, 83; Bridges-Whalley, I, 603; Nichols, *Leicestershire*, IV, 360; Martin, p. 8.

19. See my paper, pp. 88, 89.

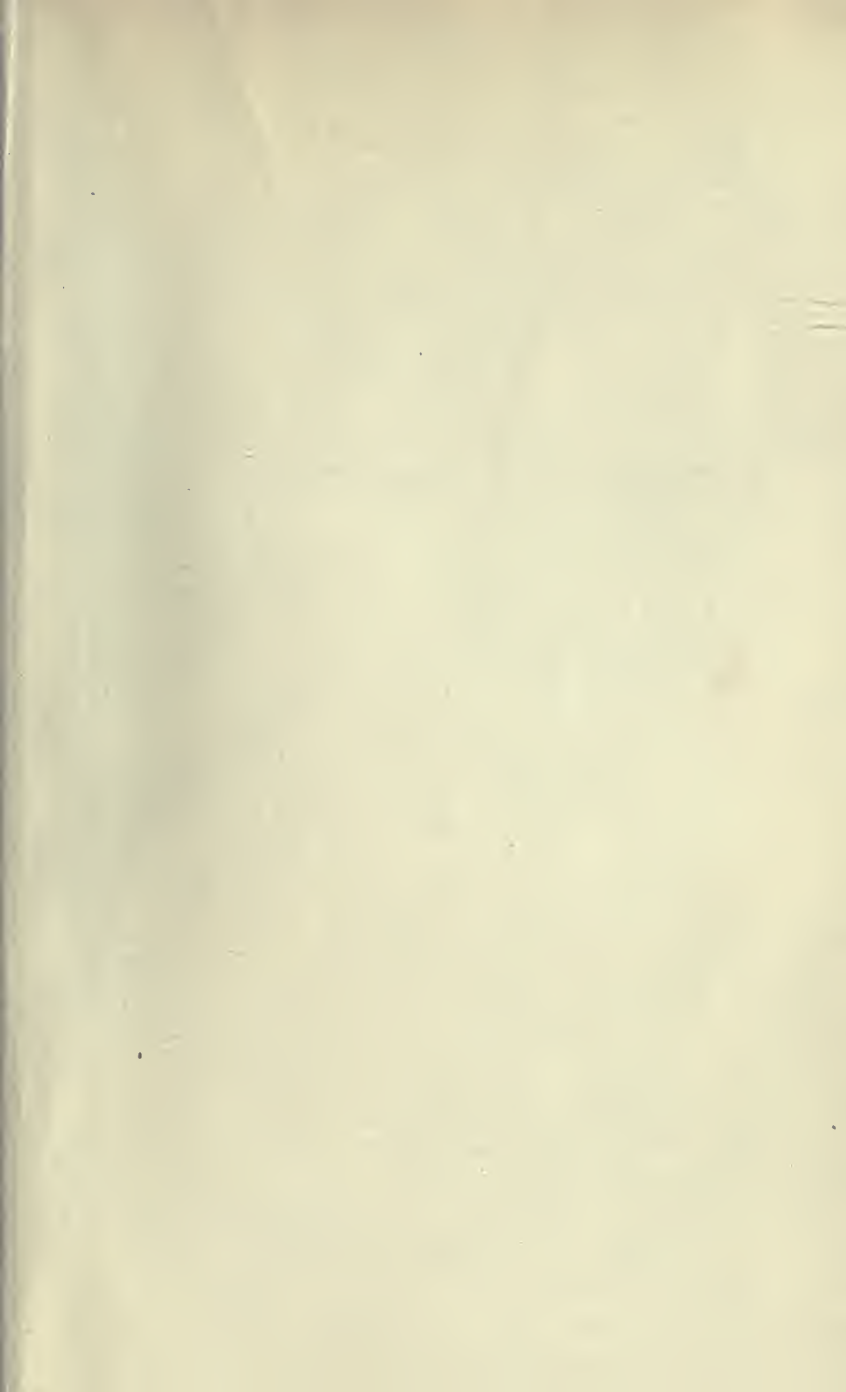
20. De Banco 731, Mem. 278 (dorso), 22. Hen. VI., Mich. Mr. Cobb remarks: "The sequel to the above is:—'(Northants). Thomas Symthe versus Thomas Malory, etc. (De Banco 732. Mem. 414. 22. Hen. vi. Hil.)' This is the last notice, and as Sir Thomas Malory was M. P. for Warwickshire, it may be supposed the case was settled out of court, before his election in 1445."

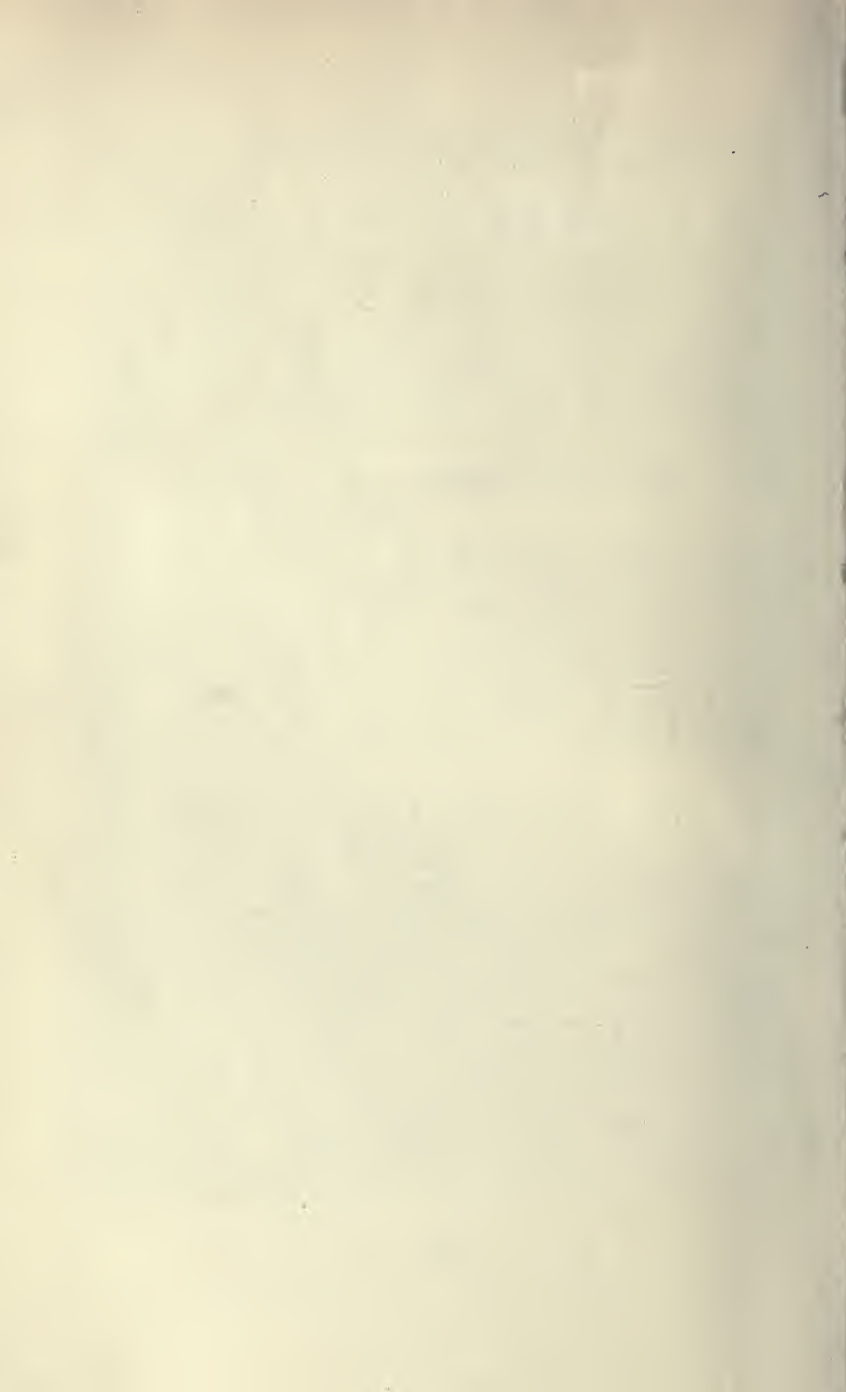
21. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1446-1452, p. 476. On the Carthusian priory in Axholm see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, i, 25-29; *Warwickshire*, I, 76-77; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1391-1396, p. 607; 1461-1467, p. 155.

22. *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1452-1461, p. 61.

23. I take this opportunity to correct a slip of the pen in the note on p. 106. The Gaufridus Maloret of Domesday held property in Dorsetshire, not Devonshire.

24. This is a charter of Robert, Earl of Leicester, allowing a certain gift made to the Abbey of Lire in Normandy (*Calendar of Documents preserved in France, illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by J. Horace Round, No. 410, I, 136, from the original in the Archives of the Eure in Upper Normandy). The document is undated, but must be a charter of Robert le Bossu, born 1104, succeeded 1118, died 1168; compare the witnesses with those to Nos. 409 and 1062, and observe that Ernald de Bosco (mentioned as consenting in No. 410) was Constable of Robert le Bossu (see Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new ed., VI, ii, 1093). In a charter of Robert [Blanch-mains], son of this earl, the same witness's name is spelled "Anketillo Mallore" (*Monasticon* VI, ii, 1095, No. 28). Richard Mallore is mentioned in another charter of Robert le Bossu (*Calendar of Documents*, No. 1062, I, 376-7, between 1155 and 1159).









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